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9 August 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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9 August 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALBANIANS ATTACK YUGOSLAVS FOR GRANTING ACCESS FOR USSR SHIPS

AU221250 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Jul 84

["Excerpts From the New Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha 'Reflections on the Middle East' Albania Has Defended and Will Continue to Defend the Just Anti-Imperialist Cause of the Arab Peoples"--ATA headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, 22 Jul (ATA)--

- Time confirms that the refusal to accept foreign fleets is in the interest of the country which makes no concessions and at the same time in the interest of the other countries. -

We supported the decision of the Government of Egypt [to expel the Soviets] and hope that the Egyptian people and their leaders will not allow any kind of fleet of either superpower, disguised as an ally or friend, into their ports, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on in his notes of April 26, 1976.

We think that this action of Egypt's, which is in the interests of all the countries of the Mediterranean, should be followed by others, so that the warships of the imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers will not be given access to their ports in any form at all.

We have expressed these views, which constitute one aspect of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania, years ago.

Time confirms that the refusal to accept foreign fleets is in the interests of the country which makes no concessions and at the same time, in the interests of other countries, in the interests of the peoples who desire to live in good neighbourly relations with all the other peoples and, in the concrete case the peoples who live on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Each sovereign state is free to develop its policy in the way it sees fit and deems suitable to protect the interests of the country. We think that it is impermissible that the defence of the interests of one country should be achieved by damaging the interests of another. Even less do we accept that in order to cover up such actions which endanger peace, pretexts should be found and slanders concocted against those states which have a correct defence policy, a policy

which is in the interests of the respective countries and the adjacent countries with which they desire to live in peace as good neighbours. We have openly expressed our opinion that the granting of concessions by the Yugoslavs, under whatever conditions, to the Soviet warships which are prowling the Mediterranean like wild beasts, allegedly so that they can do repairs, etc., is an act dangerous not only to Yugoslavia, but also to Albania. We are not interested in the conditions on which Yugoslavia has granted them these concessions, but we know that these warships constitute a great danger to the independence of Yugoslavia's neighbours and, concretely, to the People's Republic of Albania.

The Yugoslav Government can say what it likes, but if in a time of crisis the Soviet revisionists decide to attack, it is easier for them to come to attack the People's Republic of Albania from the ports of Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor, etc., than to come from the Mediterranean, passing through the Strait of Otranto. Yugoslavia is unable to stop such acts of aggression of the Soviet naval fleet. At the appropriate moment the Soviet ships, which may be in the ports of Yugoslavia, for repairs or visits, can put to sea in fighting readiness and attack Albania.

The Yugoslav Government may say that it washes its hands of this. But we do not allow it to wash its hands of it, therefore we condemn this action.

The People's Republic of Albania has maintained an open [words indistinct] stand: it has respect for the just actions of the so-called nonaligned or Third World countries, but it cannot accept that states which are linked by a thousand threads with the American imperialists or the Soviet social-imperialists should pose as nonaligned and, especially, in the case to which we are referring, when they permit and grant concessions to the fleets of war-mongering superpowers which have as their aim to suppress the peoples and incite world war. We respect the peoples and love our friends, but it is our custom to speak to them frankly, without kid-gloves, because sincerity is the most reliable and irreplaceable weapon for strengthening the true friendship and collaboration between peoples.

CSO: 2020/107

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'GREAT SERB TERROR' IN KOSOVO ALLEGED BY ALBANIANS

AU111142 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 11 Jul 84

["What do the Great Serbs Want to Achieve Through the Chauvinistic Terror and Violence in Kosovo"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 11 Jul (ATA)--Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an article which says: A new wave of antiAlbanian terror has swept over Yugoslavia, during June alone, 10 public trials have been conducted where 90 people have been sentenced. These days it was informed that a new trial will start soon against seven Albanians.

In the center of Europe, in a state that boasts of having much freedom and seeks to teach the world democracy, in a country where much is written and spoken of the human rights and poses as standard bearer of Helsinki, hundreds of thousands [as received] of Albanians are sentenced from 10 to 15 years of imprisonment terms because they have read a book or have sung a folk song, because once they have uttered a word. Heavy sentences are being passed also on old people and school-children. As for their inhuman and obscurantist nature the Yugoslav trials are really unprecedented.

The Yugoslav press has long since voiced violent chauvinistic appeals to turn to the policy of the Serb kings towards the Albanian population. The interior minister of the federation has declared that "we have a policeman for each village in Kosovo." The review "Danas" of Zagreb wrote that "There is not any Albanian family in Kosovo without a person in jail."

What is happening? What do the great Serbs want to achieve through this unbridled chauvinistic violence? Now, the Albanians are being tortured, imprisoned and killed not because they have committed any crime, not because they have violated any law, not because they have offended someone, but simply because they are Albanians. A typical racist, colonialist and denationalizing policy is being pursued in Kosovo and other areas inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia. The human conscience, the democratic opinion of each country and nation, the progressive people everywhere they are cannot but be indignant for this blind persecution and savage oppression exerted on a whole people, proud of their history and culture, progressive in thoughts and just in demands.

The Yugoslav leadership has been long since heading into a blind alley in Kosovo but time has come when all should understand that every effort to put "the strait-jacket" on Kosovo will always meet with failure. Violence and terror do but only aggravate further the situation and increase the indignation of the people.

The policy of national oppression in Kosovo has been executed other times too, but it has always failed. Prior to war, this policy was executed by the Serb monarchic bourgeoisie and after it, by Rankovic and his ilk. But Kosovo did not kneel down. The demands to have equal political and economic rights with the other nations of Yugoslavia in the framework of the Yugoslav constitution, are entirely legitimate, and as such they cannot be swept away either through demagoguery or through force.

The problems of Kosovo cannot be solved by arrests, trials and jails. The chauvinistic terror has not had and cannot have its future. The only way out is to put an end to the national oppression and to talk quietly with the people of Kosovo in order to find that reasonable solution that will respond both to the interests of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslav federation as a whole.

Socialist Albania has denounced and will denounce powerfully and at any time the chauvinistic violence and terror against the Albanians of Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia. Let the Yugoslavs say as much as they can that through this we are interfering in their home affairs and want to destabilize the federation. Perhaps do they in Belgrade expect us to be silent or applaud when the great Serbs imprison, conduct trials, sentence and kill the Albanians who ask for political and economic equality, who ask for their right to speak and write Albanian, the right to cultivate their national traditions?

Today, too, just like before, Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, it has never wanted its destabilization. But we will defend resolutely the Kosovars and other Albanians in Yugoslavia when they are imprisoned and persecuted unjustly because we are brothers of the same blood, we shall defend them courageously when they are oppressed and exploited because we are communists we shall defend them unwaveringly when they are denied their democratic and national rights, because these actions run counter to the spirit of freedom and progress, which are precious ideals to all mankind.

The events in Kosovo were not and could not be provoked by us. They are a result of those improper proportions created by the Titoite line in the Yugoslav federation, especially a result of the all-round discrimination of the Albanians. They in Belgrade too know it well. Hence, we say to them: Don't try in vain to find the causes of the created situation out of the terrain where they have emerged. See the economic differences and the national inequality existing in Yugoslavia and there you will find the cause. Don't seek to find out the causes of the grave situation in Kosovo in the songs and dances of the folk groups from Albania, or in the verses of the Albanian poets of the renaissance.

The concoctions regarding "greater Albania" attributed to Albanians, are a thorough provocation. Albanians have never been chauvinists, because they have never oppressed or exploited any people, they have never violated and partitioned the territories of the neighbours, as the others have acted towards them the Albanians of Kosovo have not asked to create empires or to rule over the others. What they have sought and are seeking for is to be equal citizens, to have the same rights and duties like the other Yugoslav nationals, the constitution and other fundamental laws of the country be applied for them as well.

The slogans of "greater Albania," of irredentism, unification with Albania, of the interference of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, are fabrications of the Yugoslav UDB that are used as justification for the terror and juridical violence exerted on the Albanians and as propaganda slogans to deceive the world public opinion.

The peoples of Yugoslavia have made innumerable sacrifices and have shed much blood to throw away the national oppression and to create a genuine unity-fraternity among them. Therefore, their conscience is uneasy of what is happening in Kosovo. The policy of national oppression applied there by the great Serb chauvinists is not directed towards the Albanians alone and does not affect them alone. It also hits the other peoples of Yugoslavia, tramples on the antifascist war and compromises their future. If the chauvinistic wave of the great Serbs will not be halted, what is happening in Kosovo today, will happen tomorrow in Bosnia and Croatia, the next day in Macedonia and so on. The bitter history of pre-war Yugoslavia war should not be forgotten.

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ALBANIAN AID IN LIBERATION OF KOSOVO

AU100844 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 10 Jul 84

["Glorious Deed of the Party"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 10 Jul (ATA)--Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an editorial which says among other things:

Today, 41 years are completed from the creation of the National Liberation Army, the main striking and liberation force of the people in struggle for the liberation of the country from the Nazi-fascist occupiers and their collaborators. This celebration of the whole people becomes ever more joyful by the great jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution to be celebrated this year, an event which is closely linked with the day of the formation of the army.

The National Liberation Army was formed by the Communist Party of Albania which was the sole political force capable of uniting round itself the freedom loving and patriotic people, to lead their struggle to the realisation of the aspirations for national and social liberation. On July 10, there was crowned completely the unity of the existing partisan formations led by a general command, with the General Staff of the National Liberation Army at the head.

Since its formation, our People's Army, was born as a new type army. It is an army that emerged from the fold of the people, it was made up of their best boys and girls. It performed with honour and devotion the task before the party and people, liberated every inch of the country relying only on its human and material forces. Led by the party and the general commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, our National Liberation Army realised the great tasks facing it with its forces and with those of the patriotic people. No foreign soldier has fought in our country to liberate our territories. On the contrary, following the liberation of the country, many units of our army surpassed the state borders to come to the assistance of the Albanian brothers of Kosovo, the Dukagjin Plateau and Macedonia and to fight as internationalists side by side with the Yugoslav peoples. The partisan formations charged with this duty by the General Staff and Comrade Enver Hoxha, fulfilled it shedding blood and making sacrifices. Hundreds of sons and daughters of the people laid down their lives side by side the Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia and of the Yugoslav peoples as well.

Further on, after speaking of the best virtues of our People's Army inherited, the editorial stresses that it is not an army of barracks, it is not an army of mercenaries. It is a great force of the people, part of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our entire people train themselves to be ready to defend the socialist homeland. This is an important factor that guarantees our victory over any enemy and coalition of enemies, the editorial concludes.

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ROMANIAN DAILY MARKS POLAND'S LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

AU241526 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jul 84 p 5

[Editorial: "The 40th Anniversary of Poland's Rebirth"]

[Text] The friendly Polish people are celebrating today the 40th anniversary of their fatherland's liberation from the fascist yoke--Poland's rebirth. An event of epoch-making importance for the destiny of the Polish nation and the Polish state, the victory 40 years ago excellently crowned the heroic struggle full of sacrifices waged by the workers class, by the broad people's masses, and by all patriotic and democratic forces headed by the Communists against the Hitlerite oppressors, for independence, safeguarding their national being, and for building a free and dignified life.

During the fascist occupation--the country's invasion on 1 September 1939 marking the beginning of World War II--which were years of terrible terror, mass executions, and incomparable crimes committed by the fascists whose aim it was to eliminate Poland and physically exterminate the Polish people. The best sons of the Polish people, inspired by a fervent patriotism, mobilized all their resources in their struggle against the oppressors and for the country's liberation. During the overall occupation period, millions of Polish people--partisans, military, workers, peasants, and intellectuals, men and women, young and old people--fought in the resistance movement. At the same time, military units, operating from exile, were organized. They fought on all fronts against the Nazi armies, thus making, along with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, an important contribution to the final victory over fascism.

On 22 July 1944 the working people's power was established on the first liberated portion of Polish territory represented by the Polish National Liberation Committee. Once the country's liberation was completed, the Polish People were--for the first time in their longstanding history--free and masters of their destiny.

Inspired by the ideals of national and social freedom, the Polish working people, under the Communist Party's leadership, immediately after the liberation engaged in large-scale construction. Surmounting the tremendous obstacles and difficulties left by the Hitlerite occupation, the people's masses step by step implemented the bold program drafted by the PZPR aimed at Poland's basic reconstruction and at directing it toward a new road of socioeconomic development.



The 40 years of people's power prove that under PZPR leadership the workers class and the people's masses have recorded great achievements in the country's manysided development. National freedom and independence, passing power to the working people, the elimination of exploitation, and building a strong material base for Poland's constant progress are all basic achievements that are given a place of pride in the inventory of this period. The implementation of the policy of industrialization promoted consistently by the party led to the construction of hundreds upon hundreds of modern plants, factories, and combines and to the creation of new industrial centers with a high productive potential, and it led to the general development of the forces of production. Education, science, and culture also flourished to a great extent.

Through efforts made by the party and people the measures adopted by the ninth party congress on resolving the complex economic and social problems that have confronted Poland in past years are also gradually being implemented. As a result of those measures, the country's economy has started recovering and developing and a number of noteworthy successes have been achieved in the development of basic branches such as the extractive industry, and in increasing economic efficiency. The party is strengthening its leading role, the participation by representative bodies in the country's leadership has increased, and the ranks of the political and social forces united within the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth are growing.

The great national holiday of Socialist Poland is a happy opportunity to stress the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian people and the Polish people, who throughout time have often been shoulder to shoulder in their struggle for independence and social and national liberation. Forcefully stimulated by the community of systems, targets, and basic aspirations, relations between our countries and peoples developed to a great extent at the most varied levels during the years of socialist construction. A most important contribution to strengthening friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples--in the political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural fields and in the international arena and in the struggle for security and peace in Europe and throughout the world--was made by the meetings and talks in Bucharest and Warsaw between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. In assessing the results of the last summit meeting that took place in June in the Polish capital, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "During our talks we reached the common conclusion to act together to raise Romanian-Polish cooperation onto a higher level--and we can state that great possibilities exist for these relations to develop both in the economic and in the political, scientific, and cultural areas--and to act to expand exchanges between the working people in our countries."

In his turn, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed: "We want to continue to develop the manysided relations between the PZPR and the RCP, and between the working people in our countries. We shall make all necessary efforts to constantly expand mutually advantageous and fruitful Romanian-Polish cooperation in all areas."

Reality fully proves that sustained development of the relations of multifaceted cooperation between the two countries, parties, and peoples is in the interests of building the new system in Romania and Poland, and of the general cause of socialism and peace.

The Romanian people wholeheartedly participate in the great national holiday of People's Poland. The many events that took place on the eve of this anniversary in our country are a new and telling proof of our feelings of fraternal friendship for the Polish people. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Rebirth Day of Poland, the working people of our country convey to the Polish working people warmest congratulations and wish them that, in close unity and led by the PZPR, they achieve ever greater success in the efforts made for the continuous progress of their fatherland on the path of socialism, fully in keeping with the supreme interests of the entire nation and of the general cause of socialism, progress, peace and international cooperation.

[Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 23 July carries a 750-word editorial article on the occasion of Poland's National Day, which is similar in content to the above item, but in regard to economic cooperation adds the following:

"From an agrarian country, Poland has changed into a socialist state with a developed industry. The national economy has acquired a strong and modern machine-building industry. The coal mining, metallurgical, chemical, and construction materials industries have developed. Compared to the year 1946, the net overall production of the Polish industry is now 20 times larger. During the same period the value of fixed assets increased almost 4 times and production capacities, particularly in industry, increased 5.5 times. Outstanding progress has been marked in the scientific and technical fields, in the development of educational and cultural activities, in health care, as well as in the people's standard of living.

Currently, the people of the friendly country are acting with perseverance to implement the economic tasks envisaged for this year. The achievements attained show that industrial production will increase 4.5 percent compared to 1983. Products of light industry, various durable consumer goods, as well as those that are important for the development of the economy and export (electronics, automated instruments, and chemistry) will increase faster than the average envisaged for the entire industry.]

CSO: 2700/237

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HUNGARY SHOWS ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN WITH NEIGHBORS

#### Czech Air Pollution Cited

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 84 p 4

/Article by Peter Lovasz/

/Text/ Brontosaurus is the name of the 2-3-year-old movement of the Czechoslovak Socialist Youth League which has achieved great acclaim and popular support. The founders were not trying for humor when they chose the name. Quite the contrary, the name refers to the catastrophic environmental changes which caused the extinction of this huge animal. This association operates within the environmental protection league, and with the aid of official and other social organizations has undertaken the preservation of Czechoslovakia's natural resources, living things and the environment in which man lives and works.

#### Increasing Pollution

It is a fact that for the stopping of environmental damage, widespread social cooperation is necessary throughout Czechoslovakia. For, according to UN statistics, certain areas of our northern neighbor are among the most polluted regions of the world. The most urgent concern in these areas is air and water pollution. In 1974 the Czech national government declared six regions to be in particular danger, then added two regions to the list in 1980. In these areas, environmental protection investments enjoy a special status.

In October 1983 RUDE PRAVO informed readers that one-third of Czechoslovak forests were in serious danger, and in northern Bohemia many thousand hectares of forestland had already been felled. In January 1984 TVORBA reported that the cultivated land of the Czech-Moravian plateau is polluted by 27 kg of sulfur and sulfur compounds annually per hectare. In the vicinity of the nearby thermal power plants, however, the rate of pollution rises to 100 kg.

According to the cumulated statistics in HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, air pollution has grown by 30-35 percent since 1970, and water pollution by 25-30 percent--despite the several million korunas invested in environmental protection by national and federal governments.

Nearly three-quarters of the pollutants are combustion products. Of this part, 46 percent is produced by the power plants, 31 percent by industry (largely from cement manufacturing), 17 percent by heating in homes and public buildings, and only 7 percent by transportation. True, the leaded gases produced by the latter are so destructive that in Bohemia the fruit of several hundred thousand roadside trees is inedible. And the situation within Czechoslovak borders is worsened by the considerable amount of pollution carried from the nearby industrial plants of neighboring countries by the winds prevailing throughout most of the year.

The Czech national government proclaimed comprehensive environmental protection measures in 1974, then the 16th CPCZ Congress made it every citizen's duty to support and comply with environmental protection measures. Between 1976 and 1980 7.7 billion korunas were invested in environmental protection measures in Bohemia alone (where the situation is significantly less favorable than in Slovakia); and this sum does not include the expenditures of enterprises and local councils, all under 2 million korunas individually but quite a considerable amount when taken together, which have been turned toward local environmental action. This money comprised 3.5 percent of the total state investments.

#### Expensive Amusements

The largest share of this money, 5.4 billion korunas, has been devoted to systems which prevent soot and ash from entering the air. According to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, the level of solid air pollution has not increased significantly since 1970.

In contrast, a satisfactory method for eliminating sulfur dioxide air pollution has not been found. It varies according to the quality of the fuel used, and the sulfur content of the fuel used in Bohemian power plants and boilers is high. In 1982, the construction of an experimental desulfurization system was begun, at a projected cost of 630 million korunas. Since environmental protection projects must also be adjusted to the capacity of the national economy, it is understandable that such desulfurization systems cannot be systematically constructed at such costs.

Regardless--although Czechoslovak environmental funds are dwindling, and accumulation directives in the national economic plan have been adjusted accordingly--environmental protection projects are being continued in the present 5-year plan. In 1981 alone 500 million korunas from central funds were allotted for 35 water purification plants, some new and some old ones to be reconstructed. The statistics 1 year later: 28 water purification plants were or are being built at a cost of 400 million korunas provided by local councils. In 5 years a total of 1.7 billion korunas are slated for the water purification plants and 200 million korunas were spent on upgrading 14 blocks of power plants in northern Bohemia, which reduced the solid air pollution by 82,000 tons. New dust-extracting systems are being installed, and a set of low-efficiency furnaces are being disconnected during heating centralization. For this program 2.3 million korunas are slated. In total, despite the financial limitations, by 1985 Czechoslovakia will spend more money on environmental protection than in the past 5-year plan.

## Everyone's Duty

In addition, farreaching social cooperation is expected. In 1982, the Czech Government issued a request for every citizen to support the stipulations of the technological and environmental protection measures, and asked society's help in protecting the environment more effectively. Although in principle everyone knows the importance of environmental protection, such a request is necessary: for example, in a protected forest region, 16 pine trees were felled, chopped up and shipped away. As RUDE PRAVO reports, many merely voice demands of "those above," but in the course of their daily work they waste energy, litter, and kill city and forest plant life without batting an eyelash. The magazine emphasizes it is everyone's primary duty to protect his own surroundings.

## Environmental Pact With Austria

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 84 p 5

/Text/ Kurt Steyrer, Austrian federal minister of Health and Environmental Protection, and Gyorgy Gonda, chairman of the National Environmental Protection Council yesterday signed a Hungarian-Austrian environmental protection pact in Budapest.

The pact outlines the framework of the environmental protection action of the two neighboring countries. Based on the pact, a 3-year plan of action is being negotiated, which provides the context of the liaisons and cooperation. Important emphasis is placed on protection of the air's cleanliness, the neutralization of wastes and especially dangerous wastes, and protection against noise. The cooperation extends to research, exchange of information and other important areas. Following present practice, cooperation over the identification and protection of the natural resources of Lake Ferto is being extended. In general, the interaction of the two countries' environmental protection specialists and technical cooperation will be strengthened.

Kurt Steyrer was received by Istvan Sarlos, member of the Central Committee.

During his visit, the Austrian minister studied the structure and activity of the Hungarian environmental protection agency, and visited Kekcskemet, where he became acquainted with the National Park of Kiskunsag.

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CSO: 2500/387

BALEV PRAISES ZHIVKOV'S CONCEPTS ON MATURE SOCIALISM

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 6, 1984 pp 3-22

[Article by Milko Balev, politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary: "Major Contribution to the Theory and Practice of Building Mature Socialism in Bulgaria;" written on the occasion of the publication of the work "Problemi i Podkhodi na Izgrazhdaneto na Zreliya Sotsializum v NR Bulgariya" [Problems and Approaches in Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic] by Todor Zhivkov. Partizdat, 1984]

[Text] I

Life continually confirms the predictions made by Marx, Engels and Lenin to the effect that the building of the new society is a complex and lengthy process of searching and applying the most suitable means, methods and mechanisms for achieving the communist ideal. This process is the more creative, effective and mobilizing the people's energy the more it is consistent with the objective logic of history and the broader the scope which is offered for the effect and manifestation of its laws and the more the role of the people's masses, headed by the communist party, increases.

Our system is a great triumph of the close and profound unity between scientific theory and steadily renovating practice, and between constructive practical experience and creatively developing theory and methodology of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This unity is an absolute necessity, the achievement of which is the prime duty and high historical responsibility of the communist party and the socialist subjective factor, a need which determines the main feature of the party's policy: to be a purposeful scientifically based course for the proper interpretation and revolutionary change of reality. The essence of this requirement was expressed in an extremely concise fashion by Lenin: "Only a party guided by a progressive theory can play the part of leading fighter."<sup>1</sup>

The activities of a communist party would be sterile or insufficiently effective unless practical requirements, developing contradictions and problems and the objective laws of the sociohistorical process are not continually studied and unless they are known comprehensively and profoundly. Conversely, whenever the party, in expressing the interests of the working class and all working people, steadily intensifies and improves its knowledge of real

processes and phenomena and social laws, and when it structures its policy in accordance with such knowledge, it indeed becomes a front-ranking fighter who can lead the popular masses and make miracles in the course of its constructive activities.

This is a confirmed conclusion and lesson drawn from the history of the international communist and worker movements and the history of socialism. It is also a learned conclusion and lesson drawn from the history of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

For more than 90 years our party has fulfilled honorably and responsibly its historical mission as a vanguard in the struggle waged by our people for the revolutionary reorganization of society. The source of its historical accomplishments and its ascending development and the worthy position it holds in the international communist and worker movements is known: its infinite loyalty to the revolutionary theory of Marxism and its irreconcilable opposition to efforts to revise it "from the left" or the right and its opposition to bourgeois ideology and anti-communism; its ability to separate itself from other views and methods of work and to arm itself with new ideological, strategic and theoretical weapons, and to intensify and further enhance its Leninist maturities; its ability organically to link its theory with practice and to inspire, mobilize and organize the people's masses for the revolutionary change of society. The three main stages in the party's history--the Blagoev, Dimitrov and contemporary April--are three peaks of a single and indivisible ideological-theoretical, political and organizational development through which the party has resolved a variety of historical problems and developed exceptionally valuable virtues and in the course of which profound continuity is combined with revolutionary innovations and profound quality changes in an ascending growth. In the course of this historical movement onwards and upwards the party trained and gained worthy leaders, whose names have been given to these stages--Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Dimitrov and Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

From the present peak reached by socialist Bulgaria and from the height of the prospects which open to it, again and again we can see how the BCP, as it extends and enriches its past virtues, is still worthily performing its historical mission. It is worthily performing its historical mission by learning from its own experience, including the weaknesses and errors it allowed. It is worthily performing its historical mission also by drawing from the experience of the "parties and countries within the socialist commonwealth, the international communist and worker movements, the national liberation movement, the progressive forces in the world and, above all, the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. 'Foreign' experience enables us to avoid confusions, protects us from errors and suggests solutions. Its study and creative application are a vital need for all parties and countries building a socialist society."<sup>2</sup>

Contemporary socialist Bulgaria, with its achievements in all areas, its material and spiritual wealth and its high international reputation is the most eloquent proof of the accuracy and farsightedness of the party's policy,



based on the unshakeable principles of Marxism-Leninism and the ability creatively to develop and apply it under our specific conditions.

This policy, approach and style of thinking and working, developed and enriched and tested and refined through the live practical efforts of millions of working people, passed the test of time and of our most recent history. That is precisely why they can only become a means of existence of our entire social organism, and a way of thinking and practical activities.

The 12th Party Congress, which summed up an exceptionally important and fruitful period and which determined our assignments for a significant period of time in the future, was not only a test of the vital strength and possibilities of the approach and the style of thinking and working which we simply describe as the April style. It was also a full manifestation of this approach, of this style of thinking and working. The time which has passed since the congress has been one of intensive creative theoretical work for shaping an overall view of the basic problems and practical approaches for the further development of a mature socialist society. Such activities are taking place under the conditions of a new stage in the further elaboration and implementation of the April general line, a stage which was initiated with the congress.<sup>3</sup>

It was during these post-congress years that one of the most distinguishing features and virtues of the party and its April line were comprehensively developed and enriched: providing a prompt and substantiated answer to ripe problems. The spirit of sacred restlessness and communist responsibility to the generations and to the future was impressively expressed in the tremendous work accomplished by the Central Committee, the Politburo and personally by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. It is precisely he, this great son of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, the great man and humanist, the major theoretician, the strategist and organizer and the noted and respected personality in the international and communist and worker movements who stands at the center of this bubbling theoretical and practical activity and the collective mind of the party. As a deep philosopher, a principled person in the Leninist style and a historically perspicacious party leader and statesman, for the past 3 decades he has enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of building socialism in our country and has combined theory with the pulsebeat and requirements of reality. He deserves tremendous credit for the theoretical interpretation and strategic anticipation of the development of social practice.

The development of a number of areas in our social life after the April 1956 BCP Central Committee plenum--economics, culture, integration with the socialist countries, etc.--has been so tempestuous that, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has said, it has an "explosive nature" of its own. Now, when we already have an entire cycle of his latest works of recent years, we can also speak of a legitimately developed concept of "intellectual and theoretical explosion," which appeared on the basis of our socioeconomic development and collective party thinking, since the 12th Party Congress. This "explosion" reached its peak in the seven lectures delivered by our first party and state leader at the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, which were recently published as a separate work, entitled "Problems and Approaches to Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic."



## II

Our country has entered a decisive period in building mature socialism. Thanks to the efforts of the people, the party and all social forces and factors and to cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, we are not only successfully implementing the stipulations of the congress. The time after the 12th Congress has been one of essentially new problems and tasks in all social areas, a time of profound quantitative and qualitative changes. We reached new horizons and were exposed to new previously unknown processes and phenomena in the course of our progress. The need to increase the level of maturity and the production base, social relations and spiritual life is being increasingly manifested.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized in the course of the meeting between the Politburo and the Secretariat aktiv of the Scientific and Technical Associations and the Union of Scientific Workers, on 24 April 1984, today we need a revolutionary way of thinking in resolving the new problems. We need a radical turn in all areas and new approaches and actions. We need a revolutionary way of thinking everywhere and in everything. We must see the entire depth and gravity of developing contradictions and problems. We must identify the new conditions and trends and formulate corresponding objectives and tasks. We must make a firm break with obsolete stereotypes. We must not be the slaves of dogmas and prejudices but find suitable organizational methods for the implementation of the new assignments.

The abundance of problems and tasks currently being resolved by the party and the working people can be understood "only if we adopt a proper attitude toward the requirements of the objective laws and the possibilities of the subjective factor."<sup>4</sup>

Today the requirements of these laws specifically include the further development of the material and technical base consistent with mature socialism, comprehensive intensification of the economy and the other areas of social life, the conversion of labor collectives into full managers of socialist property and to a subject of management, the expansion of socialist democracy, industrial in particular, enhancing the role of the individual, perfecting the political system, etc. This is an objective requirement of our development, without which we cannot advance, build mature socialism and attain our ideal.

It was precisely this requirement which necessitated a decisive further advancement in the development of our theoretical thinking and party policy and in enriching the management tools with new theoretical concepts and practical approaches. By virtue of familiar historical circumstances, Marx, Engels and Lenin did not nor could provide us with answers to such questions. The new theoretical and practical problems must be studied on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and resolved with the help of dialectical materialism. "... As in the past, the successful development of collective party thinking and our science will depend in the future on our ability to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively, in accordance with the specifics of Bulgarian reality--an ability which was crystallized within the party's April general line."<sup>5</sup>

The work "Problems and Approaches to Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic" is such a creative and innovative development and an outstanding example of revolutionary thinking.

The need for such a work becomes urgent. Life demanded it with the power of a social necessity, in order to enable us to answer the new problems of building developed socialism in our country.

This work is an interpretation, a creative summation and a further development of the theoretical wealth contained in the report submitted to the 12th Party Congress and particularly the developments after the congress, based on the changes which occurred in economics and the other areas of social life. However, it also sums up the experience acquired in the development of the party and the country throughout the entire period after the April 1956 plenum. It also reflects the lessons and experience acquired by the other fraternal parties in building mature socialism.

On the basis of the problem-theoretical approach, brilliantly applied by Marx, Engels and Lenin, we are developing and using in clarifying sociohistorical processes basic stipulations of dialectical-materialistic philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. The conclusion to the effect that the development of our revolutionary doctrine must be based on the rich and permanent classical heritage, i.e., by preserving as well as enriching its basic principles, has been applied in the efforts creatively to develop Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the specific features of our reality and new historical experience and the new historical tasks of building socialism in our country.

The work develops basically new problems of building mature socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic, which is a new peak in the development and application of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in our country and in developing the party's general line. New ideas and approaches were formulated, which are not of temporary and transitional but of lasting strategic importance to our party and country. The profound theoretical analysis starts with social practice and ends with social practice. Practice and its advancement and development is the foundation, objective and criterion of the stipulations included in the work.

Determining the directions, ways and means for enhancing the level of maturity of our social system and, above all, for building a material and technical base consistent with developed socialism, are of tremendous importance in the theory and practice of building socialism in our country. The solution of this problem will offer qualitatively new opportunities for the advancement and manifestation of social relations, the overall identification of the advantages of the new society in all realms of life, the fuller satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the people, etc. Hence the tremendous theoretical and practical-political significance of the concept of the material and technical basis of mature socialism, which is defined as "starting" and "fundamental" with full justification farsightedly and substantiatedly.<sup>6</sup>

This identifies the general requirements in laying the material and technical foundations, which create all the necessary prerequisites for the fullest possible implementation of its social function as the material base of the mature socialist society; for enhancing the level of the country to the heights outlined by mature socialism and the contemporary scientific and technical revolution; for rapidly upgrading social labor productivity; for further changes in the socioclass structure with a view to achieving full social homogeneity; for the growth of the national income and the fuller and comprehensive satisfaction of the steadily growing material, spiritual and social requirements of the people; for the accelerated harmonious development and enhanced efficiency of the nonproduction area; for our further efficient participation in the international division of labor and integration with the fraternal socialist countries, the USSR above all; and for strengthening the country's defense capability.

A number of crucial problems and tasks, which we are resolving currently and will continue to resolve in the future, become apparent from the positions of such a scientifically substantiated formulation of the nature of the material and technical base of mature socialism.

What is essential is that on the basis of a superb analysis of such problems and tasks, the work organically combines the ways and means of building the material and technical base of mature socialism with the main trends to be followed in achieving a course of comprehensive intensification--widescale automation, comprehensive mechanization and utilization of leading Bulgarian and foreign experience.

What is also essential is that on the basis of this new theoretical formulation an essentially new answer is provided for the key problem of our development: mastering the peak accomplishments of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and its strategic trends: electronics and, more specifically, microelectronics, optical electronics, laser technology, biotechnology, new materials, etc.

Consequently, a new approach is needed in our entire investment policy, in which renovation will be the main source and main trend in production development. This offers qualitatively new opportunities for following a purposeful selective strategy in the area of scientific and technical progress and developing a structure of the national economy consistent with the scientific and technical revolution and the needs of the economy, and production specialization and concentration consistent with the requirements of the multiplication approach. "This revolution--the scientific and technical--is a revolution with the help of which we shall lay the material and technical foundations for mature socialism and, subsequently, communism."<sup>7</sup>

The next set of problems which were given an innovative answer in the work under review applies to the further development and advancement of socialist social relations.

The study of the problems of socialist ownership, the conscious utilization of the objectively operating commodity-monetary relations and the improvement

of social management on the basis of new relations in production and labor, etc., is, in the true meaning of the term, an expanded program for achieving a higher level of maturity in this exceptionally important and responsible area.

Here again, consistent with the stage we have reached and our domestic and progressive foreign experience, the work further develops and concretizes basic Marxist-Leninist postulates, deriving essentially new concepts which advance the theory and practice of scientific communism and political economy and the building of a mature socialist society in our country.

Here as well the study of the objective processes which occur within the system of social relations is taken to the level of developing a suitable economic management mechanism which has been applied in recent years.

The focal point of such development is the concept of the owner and the manager of socialist property. It is the result of a creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of objective development processes, the interpenetration and enrichment of the two forms of socialist property in our country, and the urgent requirement to improve the system for its management under the conditions of the new economic approach and the intensification of the national economy. With this postulate, for the first time a distinction was made between the functions of the socialist state and that of the labor collectives in terms of property, introducing a new category--manager of socialist property--represented by the labor collective. It is on this basis that essentially new opportunities became possible for the further enrichment and more efficient application of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, in accordance with the requirements of the dynamic development and management of the national economy. This provided a new solution to the basic theoretical and practical problem of the content and mechanisms of ownership relations and its essential dimensions during the new period of building developed socialism.

It was in this connection that an integral concept on the development of the system of labor relations was elaborated. It provides an original Marxist-Leninist solution to the following problems: on the rights and obligations of labor collectives in managing and using socialist property; the fullest possible combination of personal, collective and national interests and the interests of society as a whole; the development of labor democracy and the participation of the working people in the overall management of the social organism.

It would be no exaggeration to say that in formulating the concept of the manager and the owner of socialist property and decoding the mechanisms of basic production relations, Comrade Todor Zhivkov "drew the entire chain," and earmarked the ways, means and approaches for a harmonious development of the entire system of social relations, the "secrets" of their comprehensive upsurge and the possibility of attaining their full maturity under the conditions of developed socialism in our country.

It is no accident that a number of scientists in other socialist countries have characterized this concept as one which answers one of the most difficult and most crucial problems of Marxist-Leninist science and practice, work on which was started as early as the 1920's and which remained unanswered; they have characterized it as an exceptional scientific contribution and major scientific discovery in contemporary Marxist-Leninist theory.

The developed concept that the problem of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager is the most important problem, the solution of which affects the activities and efficient utilization of all other laws, plays an exceptionally important part among the new requirements.

Or else, let us consider the stipulations on the subjective factor. As we know, the topic of the subjective factor has always been the focal point of attention of the BCP, particularly during the last decade. Our April socialist subjective factor, which is developing on a Marxist-Leninist theoretical and methodological basis, is successfully implementing its decisive role in building a developed socialist society. At the same time, the situation developed in such a way that it was precisely during the 12th Party Congress and after the congress, through the works of our first party and state leader, that the problems of the subjective factor as crucial problems in the party's concept of building a developed socialist society, not only became more topical but were substantially developed further from the theoretical and practical-political viewpoints.

Why? It would be an error to look for the answer in some errors in party work and in the subjective factor, which brought about a political or social tension. The answer is that even under the conditions of the moral and political unity of the people rallied around the party's policy, the gradual progress of society toward socialist homogeneity and the shaping of a new type individual, the development of the subjective factor must be consistent with the objective economic and other laws operating within society on a permanent, daily and hourly basis.

The new stipulations of the owner and the manager, social management, labor and labor relations, the development of our political system and the changes in overall social life quite naturally gave priority to the theory and means of social assertion of the labor collective as a first-rate subjective factor.

It is through these stipulations or, more precisely, by implementing these innovative concepts, that we can give a specific economic, social and spiritual content to Marx's idea of communism as the free and voluntary association of working people. The labor collective, which becomes enhanced as a result of the implementation of the concepts developed in the work under review, is the center of opportunities for social creativity, which could and should provide the impetus for the development of the essential forces of society in terms of building its economic power, improving socialist democracy and increasing the spiritual accomplishments of socialism. Within the system of sociohistorical creativity, everything proceeds from the labor collective and, in the final account, as the result of the new creativity, is accepted by the labor collective.

As a focal point of social relations, their comprehensive and dynamic nature and their creative principle embodied in the labor process, as a manager the labor collective establishes qualitatively new conditions for molding the socialist working person and his consciousness and morality, and for his realization not only as manpower but as an integral personality. Here as well, as in all of its other aspects, the formulations are extremely specific and earmark the long-range horizons for the development and enrichment of the personality in the developed socialist society.

The new concepts on the builder of mature socialism earmark new tasks for education, the cultural front and our ideological and educational work. Naturally, the starting point here is the new view on the right to work and the new means of its implementation. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the socialist working person must develop new qualities, such as high level organization, efficiency and initiative, high discipline and self-discipline and readiness for and possibility of full participation in the labor process in accordance with changing conditions. This new understanding of the right to work applies to all areas of social life and its implementation leads to a profound renovation of the subjective factor and the deployment of the forces and capabilities of the entire society.

The new concepts on the further advancement of our political system and development of socialist democracy earmark an exceptionally important trend. This includes ideas on the development of representative and direct democracy, the economic foundation of socialist democracy, the growing role of sociopolitical and mass organizations as an organic part of our political system, the concepts of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the sociostate and state-social principle. The concept of enhancing the role of the primary units and the working individual as the main content of the process of the advancement of our political system is the focal point of this profound and comprehensive analysis.<sup>8</sup> This concept was comprehensively based on the developments of the new economic approach and its mechanism, the owner and the manager of socialist property, counterplanning, etc.

The nature of the basic principles and trends in the party's social policy at the present stage and the practical approaches to its implementation were indicated.

A very substantial study was made of the place and role of the spiritual area in building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria--the educational system, science, literature and the arts. It was thanks to the April line that a moral and political unity, and a calm atmosphere favoring creative work exist in this area.

The most important features of upgrading the leading role of the party and improving its ideological work in the further development of mature socialism were creatively clarified. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the party was enriched on the basis of the requirements of the current stage and the new experience gained under contemporary conditions.



The concept of the objective and main laws of our social development at the present stage, which is the basis of the entire analysis in the work under review, is namely:

On making the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of building mature socialism;

On perfecting socialist social relations and, particularly, relations between the owner and the manager of socialist property, which are the core of this process;

On the objective effect of the law of value and related commodity-monetary relations;

On the increased role of the people's masses as the makers of history and the development of socialist democracy as the main prerequisite for further improvements in the activities of our entire political system.

The invaluable theoretical and practical-political significance of this concept provided in the work was strongly manifested at the recently ended National Party Conference. The high standard of the analysis contained in the opening and concluding speeches by Comrade Todor Zhivkov was due mainly to the circumstance that he formulated problems and tasks related to the effect of objective laws governing our social development and that he analyzed these laws with a view to improving quality everywhere and in everything, which is the main key problem of our development.

Generally speaking, this is a creative work of basic theoretical, practical, socioeconomic and cultural-ideological significance. It is not a mechanical collection of partial developments but a single monolithic set of ideas, concepts and approaches, which turns it into a new and exceptionally important stage in the development of the party's concept and program for building mature socialism in our country.

### III

If we are asked to identify the most important features of the entire set of developments contained in the book "Problems and Approaches to Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic," three basic characteristics should be noted.

First, the main stipulations in the new work are a model of Marxism-Leninism in action, a model of creative attitude toward our theory and its use as a manual for social practice.

Marxism-Leninism in action means, above all, that it does not stand still, that it is enriched and raised to a new level and that it has its development stages. This means that Marxism-Leninism in action is neither a pragmatic nor an empirical attitude toward theory and its ties with practice but a highly skilled development of theory itself and the ability to enrich practice with its new basic concepts. In our time, starting with the basic concepts laid

down by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Marxist-Leninist parties are aspiring toward such theoretical developments.

Through the overall April line and policy, which found their high theoretical expression in the new work by the BCP Central Committee general secretary, the Bulgarian Communist Party once again is displaying a creative attitude toward Marxism-Leninism as a manual for action and making its international contribution to our revolutionary theory.

We, Bulgarian communists, are proud of the fact that as the most convincing historical manifestation of Marxism-Leninism in action, the April general line ensured unity and interaction between the creatively developing theory of scientific communism and our specific sociohistorical practices.

As Marxism-Leninism in action, the April line gave scope and harnessed for playing an active creative role in the historical process the broadest possible popular masses in our country and itself was realized through its historical successes as a great manifestation of our toiling people.

Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism in action means the elaboration of the basic problems which are posed by practical work and its development and requirements, which directly affect millions of working people in our country.

The problems contained in the new work are those raised by the concern and needs and the daily activities of the main social groups in our country, which have matured in the course of their overall life. These are problems through which we cross the border from daily life to party and state policies and high-level theoretical analyses, summations and conclusions.

By studying this work we also study the basic stipulations of Marxist-Leninist theory. The concepts it contains are not separated from our unified theory but are internally linked with it. They are blended with it, they are its continuation and a vitally necessary and creative enrichment aimed at building mature socialism in our country.

The ideas contained in the new work constitute Marxism-Leninism in action, for, paraphrasing Marx's familiar idea contained in his famous "Theses on Feuerbach," they not merely explain the developed socialist society in our country but are a means for its transformation. They are aimed at practical activities. Their role is one of practical guidance of human activities and sociopolitical organizations.

Secondly, in accordance with the requirements of contemporary socioeconomic developments, this work enriches with qualitatively new concepts the party's program for building a mature socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic, which was adopted at the 10th BCP Congress.

While the program was still in the process of being adopted, the accountability report submitted to the 10th BCP Congress pointed out that "the program does not claim to be the absolute and final truth. Although it provides a theoretical answer to a number of questions it does not predetermine the future



development of theory. It does not limit further creative research. To paraphrase Engels, we could say that the program is not a dogma but a manual for action."<sup>9</sup>

As we know, there was a 57-year interval between the first party program, which was adopted in 1891, and the programmatic stipulations of the 5th Party Congress in 1948. A 23-year interval separates the programmatic stipulations of the 5th Party Congress and the party program adopted at the 10th congress.

During the entire period which followed the adoption of the new program, the party paid proper attention to the development and enrichment of the concept of building mature socialism in our country.

This was no accident. Our development is characterized by qualitatively new dimensions and the newly appeared laws. A different pace of development has been reached, a development whose content is new and much richer. Our experience was enriched and so was our ability to determine and resolve problems more maturely and profoundly. In the course of the decade which followed the adoption of the program, as we know, we actually built another new Bulgaria.

"We must always take strictly into account the real historical course of building socialism. This makes it necessary to build our direct organizational and political work by enriching our knowledge of the internal laws and characteristics of each individual stage and by creatively developing and applying our great Marxist-Leninist doctrine. We are seeking and will continue to seek new solutions and new means and methods which will make our activities more purposeful and efficient."<sup>10</sup>

The tremendous changes, the acquired experience and the new tasks in all areas of social development during the decade which followed the adoption of the program created both the need and opportunity for the new developments by Comrade T. Zhivkov to become, above all, an essential supplement to the ideas, concepts, approaches and tasks contained in the party program.

Secondly, these changes and the acquired experience created the need and opportunity for such developments to become essentially an inseparable qualitatively new component of the party's program. This is natural, for they formulate and resolve basic and major problems of our society and its development, and because they formulate strategically important decisions for the entire period of building a mature socialist society. They earmark long-range objectives which provide basic directions for our development. They formulate unifying, inspiring and organizing ideas which open new horizons to the mind and new ways of resolving arising theoretical and practical problems. They provide a global approach for studies and practical activities in everything and everywhere.

Speaking of the programmatic nature of the basic concepts contained in the new book, we cannot fail to note that this is a work created for the sake of the great objectives of the BCP, which is the party of the working class and all working people, a party with a historical mission, a party linked for life and death with Marxism-Leninism and the communist cause.

The third basic characteristic of the new work, which synthesizes the party's entire and comprehensive activities is the following: concern for the person--the working person, the socialist person.

Concern for the person and for his well-being and comprehensive development, which Lenin considered the high objective of the new society, is the main requirement of the basic economic law of socialism. Our party has always been concerned with the implementation of this requirement. Essentially new steps for the fuller manifestation of the basic law of socialism and for enriching the forms and mechanisms of its action were formulated at the 12th Congress and after it.

Particularly important are the concepts developed in the new work on the effective development and utilization of social funds; harmonizing the working people's purchasing power with the country's commodity stock; extensively developing the production of consumer goods; drastically improving comprehensive social services to the population; shaping sensible material and spiritual requirements through which new communist features may be developed in the character of the socialist individual; enhancing the vitality of the nation through the regulation of demographic processes, increasing the birth rate and drastically enhancing the level of health care, mass physical culture and recreation in the so-called health "shops," etc.

Every single one of our problems is a problem of people, a problem related to man's efforts, his interests and needs and his happiness. All of our efforts are addressed and must be addressed to man and be subordinate to man.

This is because man is the final objective of our entire activities in building a new society. Satisfaction of his needs is, in the final account, the basic criterion of the level of our development.

One of the most distinguishing features of this development is the steady enhancement of the living standard of the people and not retreating from the positions gained in this area regardless of difficulties. The pace of this process may vary during different periods. However, the party has always proceeded from the stipulation that no retreat is possible in this area.

The decree of the BCP Central Committee, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union on the further implementation of the December program for upgrading the living standard of the people in accordance with the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress is another real manifestation of concern for the people. Raising the living standard is not a self-seeking aim but an important factor in stimulating the conscious and creative participation of the people in the labor process and the intensification and enhanced efficiency of the economy.

This is not to say that we have reached the limit, that we have attained the level of satisfaction of requirements which is objectively possible and necessary. That is why the party and the Central Committee do not stop there. The greater the opportunities which are being created to satisfy needs become,

the more imperative it becomes to regulate needs, to assume an active position in instilling healthy and sensible needs, suppressing and eliminating some obsolete needs, etc. It is precisely here that an active position is needed rather than simply taking notice of the objective spontaneous process of the development of needs.

This is one side of the problem.

The other exceptionally important side is the following: the path leading to the implementation of the main economic law of socialism and the path to the increasingly full satisfaction of the growing needs of the people is to broaden the action of the main laws of our current development, as presented in the new work. The effect of these laws leads to the creation of increasingly favorable conditions for increasing our concern for the people, implementing this concern and attaining the main objective of the main society.

Whichever law we may consider, it is of decisive significance in this process. Scientific and technical progress is the foundation for the development of our material and technical base. It is precisely here, on the basis of contemporary scientific and technical progress, that essentially new commodities may be created, output can be renewed rapidly and higher spiritual needs may be satisfied better.

Or else, let us consider the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of invested labor. It is precisely this principle and its application which ensure social justice and develop a new attitude toward labor and socialist property. It is becoming increasingly clear to the people, the working people under socialism, that he who wants to live better must work better.

The view held by our party as the party of socialist humanism has nothing in common with abstract humanism. Marxism teaches us that man is the product of circumstances and that circumstances are the product of human labor. That is why in order to change man we must change the objective circumstances. In order to achieve this we must develop man's creativity.

This is the backbone, the exceptionally fruitful nature of the concept of the role of the labor collective. Hence the concern for the development of labor resources, the mental potential, the "gray matter" of the nation. "In order to accomplish this, we must create the corresponding social conditions which ensure even greater opportunities for the development of the individual."<sup>11</sup>

#### IV

The work under review contains a tremendous transforming charge. It outlines the course of the basic social processes which are manifested in the actions of the people and opens the way to solutions consistent with the interests of the individual working person and our entire society. Its role and significance are invaluable from the point of view of theoretical, methodological and conceptual aspects.

In the theoretical aspect we are presented with a streamlined system of basic and applied concepts which enhance to a new stage our Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking and knowledge of our society and its laws, motive forces, development and functioning mechanisms, etc.

The main laws of our development, presented in the work, constitute the core of this system.

The formulation and characterization of these laws and of our current knowledge of the overall laws governing the building of socialism are the foundation on which the party's policy, strategy and tactics are structured. Socialism is a society which is built and developed in accordance with specific objective laws. This is its main and determining feature. Therefore, we must consider the various problems which are now the focal point of the work of the party and the state through the lens of the objective laws governing our social development. It would be erroneous to explain the existence of such problems merely from the point of view of objective or subjective difficulties. Unquestionably, some of the difficulties along our way create and must create some problems or others. The main feature of our development, however, is that the problems which now concern us--problems of the economic approach and its mechanism, the material and technical base of mature socialism, the relationship between the owner and manager of socialist property, etc.-- are problems which appear as the result of the effect of objective laws. These problems may create difficulties. However, such situations arise precisely whenever the objective laws are circumvented.

Generally speaking the approach which neglects the objective laws or does not take their stipulations sufficiently into consideration cannot provide accurate knowledge of reality, even when it claims to be recording specific facts and phenomena. In this connection, it would be useful to recall Lenin's idea that "the sum total of all such changes (in production--the author) and in all their ramifications cannot be covered in the capitalist global economy even by 70 people like Marx. What is most important, however, is the discovery of the laws governing such changes, indicating the main and essential features of the objective logic of such changes and their historical development...."<sup>12</sup> Any approach which does not take such laws into consideration cannot lead to a lasting long-term solution of one theoretical and practical problem or another. Historical experience proves that thinking and acting in this manner means creating conditions for gross errors, disproportions and voluntaristic decisions which, in the final account, are used by the anti-socialist forces backed by imperialist centers.

The nucleus of the political approach adopted by the BCP after the April 1956 BCP Central Committee plenum is the systematic scientific analysis of objective reality, based on class positions, leading to the identification and creation of conditions for mastering the objective laws of our social development. The new work crowns many years of intensive theoretical and practical party work in this area.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the source of our successes in all areas is the ability to be properly familiar with and systematically implement

these laws in our entire society, in each okrug, settlement, enterprise, labor collective and brigade.

An important feature of the approach used in the new work and systematically applied by our party in resolving problems in various areas is the ability to identify promptly and extensively the factors which ensure the successful implementation of the requirements of objective laws. This is vividly confirmed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report which was approved by the January BCP Central Committee plenum, which calls for essential structural and functional changes in the organization and management of the national economy and our entire society. Experience proves that the new economic approach and its mechanism cannot reveal their full potential unless they operate in a suitable organizational environment. In this connection, as we know, major changes were made in the structure of ministries, the Council of Ministers, the apparatus of the party's Central Committee and the public organizations. On this basis the regular personnel was reduced, starting with the highest authorities.

The same approach was used in the study of the problem of quality at the National Party Conference. In identifying the factors which determine progress in this area, our first party and state leader drew serious attention to the need to surmount the inertia and the old views and approaches shown by a large percentage of the leading personnel, both centrally and locally. His opening and final speeches at the conference were a true programmatic code for basic stipulations which must now be implemented if specific daily results are to be achieved.

The approach of analyzing problems through the lens of the objective laws and patterns governing the building of mature socialism in our country today contains, as is revealed in the report note, which was approved at the January plenum, and the proceedings of the National Party Conference, tremendous theoretical-methodological and practical opportunities. This analysis leads us to the main and decisive feature of a specific situation and to opening the most efficient ways and means of changing it and raising it to an optimal condition. It is an approach which protects us from subjectivistic errors and from adopting empirical positions. Now, with this expanded theoretical development of the approach at our disposal, and with a model for its application, the task is to use and apply it in all areas in interpreting and practically resolving the new problems.

Methodologically, the new work arms the cadres, the party members and the working people with substantiated concepts and practical approaches and with the ability to think and work creatively, to take into consideration changes in the specific circumstances, to make new decisions based on this fact, to engage in a steady analysis and synthesis of active life and practice, to avoid being the slave of dogmas and to surmount schematism in thinking and working.

The work is an example and model of such a contest and methodological direction which meet the requirement formulated by Lenin in his lecture on the state, i.e., that as a result of reading and lectures the students must acquire the ability to approach the question of the state independently, for

they will be encountering it for most different reasons and in most unexpected combinations. "Only then," Lenin said, addressing himself to his students, "once you have learned to find your way in this matter independently, only then will you be able to consider yourselves having sufficiently firm convictions and be able to defend them at all times and with all people with adequate success."<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, the work enhances to a qualitatively new stage the overall set of tools of practical approaches and social mechanisms used by the party and the people in resolving new problems. It is a remarkable fact that each theoretical stipulation and law has been given specific approaches.

This methodology of thinking and working is a priceless acquisition of the entire party and its Leninist general course. Its application and enrichment is a vital necessity for all party bodies, primary party organizations and individual party members.

The application of the new practical approaches today is one of the crucial features in production in all areas. It is also a crucial feature in the work of the party organs and organizations on the okrug and obshtina levels and on the level of the individual economic organizations, enterprises and labor collectives.

The book also earmarks something new in the approach to surmounting weaknesses and shortcomings in our development.

As a constantly self-criticizing society, we neither deny nor underestimate weaknesses and shortcomings. Our party has and continues to set the example of merciless criticism and self-criticism, as exemplified by the July 1976 plenum, the November 1980 plenum, the October 1981 conference and others. Along with everything else, this is a manifestation of its strength and its ability to provide a creative farsighted leadership of society.

But what is the main feature here as well? It is that while exposing weaknesses we do not allow ourselves to become involved in an unprincipled confusion, in the element of negative criticism and rejection. Objective reality itself does not allow such rejection, for life, living reality are a triumph of tremendous historical gains in all areas. It is precisely these gains which determine the features of our society, our country, which has become an advanced industrial-agrarian state with a prospering economy and a rich spiritual life, high living standards and a bright social and political climate.

The main thing is that in the struggle for surmounting weaknesses and shortcomings we are not satisfied with passively noting weaknesses and shortcomings but that we seek and expose the reasons which have caused weaknesses and shortcomings. In other words our party begins and ends its work not by noting the consequences but by identifying and surmounting the reasons which have led to such consequences.



"Yes, our development has a number of negative phenomena and major deformations....we constantly struggle against them through the means of our socialist legality and the methods of persuasion and propaganda.

"I believe, however, that it is particularly important now to penetrate deeper into the regions and factors which trigger such phenomena. We cannot explain them merely as vestiges of capitalism, the influence of Western propaganda or the objective effect of commodity-monetary relations. In frequent cases basic laws in the development of our society and basic principles and requirements which stem from its socialist nature have been violated. That is why we must not only struggle against consequences but, above all, undertake to resolve the main and essential factors--the elimination of the reasons which create weaknesses and deformations in our social life."<sup>14</sup>

The new work by Comrade Todor Zhivkov is also of invaluable conceptual and ideological significance. The tremendous theoretical wealth it contains is a solid foundation and means of forming a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook and an active life stance among party members and working people, for the further advancement of their consciousness and for a more successful struggle against negative phenomena in the people's way of life and consciousness. This is a powerful ideological charge and it is the task of the party organs and organizations to use it in conducting their ideological work in close connection with resolving practical problems within the labor collectives or at home.

This is of tremendous importance in implementing one of the main laws of our development--the development of creative possibilities and enhancing the activeness of the people, the popular masses, asserting the collective as the manager of socialist property and making every person, every youngster, realize that work and work alone is the field in which the individual can realize himself.

The new work is imbued with realism. It includes no fantasizing or any kind of bare and groundless daydreaming.

This realism stems, first of all, from the ability to use our Marxist-Leninist theory on the laws of social development and the laws and patterns which objectively lead our society toward mature socialism in its entirety and full heuristic power.

The realism of the lectures is based on the unique specific analysis of all objective circumstances which determine a specific approach to phenomena and specific work tasks.

The realism of this work is also manifested in the way in which the question of contradictions is formulated and explained. The particular attention paid to this problem is no accident. It is the expression of a theoretical and practical necessity and of great farsightedness and perspicacity.

As the book under review indicates, our development forward and upward and our work and struggle are accompanied by tremendous constructive efforts and by

surmounting difficulties caused above all by the grandiose nature of the changes which are being made but also by our inexperience, our errors and our shortcomings. At the same time, the main thing in life is the great truth about our system. To us, each 5-year plan and individual year, even the most unfavorable from the international or climatic viewpoints, represent a step forward. We legitimately shake off one negative phenomena or another and reduce their development possibilities. That is why we are realists and optimists, we are optimists and realists.

Furthermore, the realism in this book stems from the proper attitude toward the subjective factor. Many of its features show the high trust which the party's Central Committee and its general secretary have in leading and performing cadres, in all increasingly fruitfully developing forces and possibilities of labor collectives and in all detachments on the front of building mature socialism.

However, this trust also presumes critical evaluations and an honest, a communist criticism and self-criticism in the name of the party's cause. We can say that in this respect as well the lectures are a model of Leninist, of April strictness and exigency.

Bearing in mind the entire wealth of ideas and developments contained in the new work, it is entirely understandable and legitimate for it to be mastered and interpreted by all of our economic cadres, our entire party and the working people. It is entirely understandable and legitimate for such concepts and instructions to become the heart of the political, ideological organizational and managerial activities of the party and the country, and for the new book to become the manual, the ideological guide of all our party, state and economic cadres, party and public organizations, party members and all working people and the young people who are building their outlook.

It is entirely natural for the post-congress developments and, particularly, the new work by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to be welcomed with tremendous interest and be given an exceptionally high rating in our country, in the other socialist countries and international communist movement.

If we are asked about the problems with which the Bulgarian people live and work and the path followed by Bulgaria today, we would be fully justified in answering: read and study the work by Comrade Todor Zhivkov "Problems and Approaches to Building a Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic."

The stipulations and instructions contained in the work must be concretized by all leading bodies in accordance with the conditions and the life of the individual party organizations and labor collectives, in all areas of social life.

This means to surmount the elements of an educational-propaganda attitude toward the stipulations and developments contained in the work. It means, on the basis of such stipulations and developments, to make an assessment and draw a balance on the specific practical work and to draw all the necessary conclusions and to formulate approaches and decisions for immediate activities.



The example of revolutionary thinking set by the new work should be followed by all party, state, economic and social cadres and organizations. For this reason, all basic problems and documents they draft and discuss should be assessed also from the viewpoint of the essential new aspects it includes.

Today no task is more important than the specific practical enactment of the ideas contained in the new developments.

Today no criterion is more reliable as to the work and development of every activist, party member and working person than refracting such ideas and instructions through the lens of the tasks of his work, the fructifying of this work through the approach, styles and methods contained in the developments and the enhancement and reorganization of one's work in the spirit of the new stipulations, requirements and practical instructions.

Like all remarkable spiritual products, the book triggers our admiration for its innovational content and the linguistic and stylistic originality which are generally characteristic of the author. This book, which deals with the most complex problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, captivate us with its extreme clarity and persuasiveness. Comrade Todor Zhivkov makes generous and skillful use of the wealth of our language which thus becomes strikingly precise, categorical and exhaustive. Furthermore, each sentence and page of the work as a whole captivates us and triggers most fruitful thoughts and inspirations for new accomplishments and creativity. Profoundly instructive in this respect is the ability to outline the history of the individual problems and their current and future development. The work indicates that in all areas a profound and accurate analysis stems from the profound knowledge of phenomena and processes.

This analysis of problems which affect the destiny of the entire society and every Bulgarian person and our future as a country and a party resembles a conversation, an open and honest conversation which involves the reader and the listener mentally and emotionally, making him react to ideas, problems and our party policy and to the activities and plans of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The National Party Conference is the most important political event in our country in 1984. Dedicated to the key problem of the further building of a developed socialist society, it is harnessing the energy of our entire people for a decisive advance in the struggle for ever better quality. For an almost entire year since our first party and state leader delivered his famous speech in Varna, in May 1983, we have been engaged in a broad nationwide campaign for an upsurge in production quality. The long-term quality improvement program, which was adopted at the conference, is the foundation for planned comprehensive and systematic work.

The National Party Conference was held on an exceptionally high theoretical-practical and organizational level. The main factor in this case was the theoretical developments formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov since the 12th Party Congress and, above all, the synthesis--his work "Problems and Approaches to Building Mature Socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic." It is

precisely this factor which ensured the development of quality problems in their entire importance, complexity and depth and enabled us to find suitable trends and forms and mechanisms for their resolution.

The theory and practice of building socialism as a global system raises new problems which demand the collective efforts of all Marxist-Leninist parties and the creative solution of problems by each communist party. We are proud of the fact that our party and, personally, the general secretary of its Central Committee are making their contribution to this international project along with the remaining fraternal parties.

"Action, action and action only!" Such is the slogan which reflects most briefly and which mobilizes most fully the efforts of the party and our people for practical, dedicated high-quality work by everyone and everywhere in the name of the objectives and tasks which the 12th Party Congress set to our society. This slogan most fully reflects the theoretical depth and innovative nature of the new developments by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and their decisive significance as a system of theoretical concepts and approaches to constructive activities and their realism and long-term nature as a work program in building a mature socialist society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], Vol 6, p 25.
2. T. Zhivkov, op. cit., pp 10-11.
3. Ibid., p 295.
4. Ibid., p 25.
5. Ibid., p 297.
6. Ibid., p 28.
7. Ibid., p 27.
8. Ibid., p 185.
9. T. Zhivkov, "Izbrani Suchineniya" [Selected Works], Vol 18, p 562.
10. T. Zhivkov, op. cit., p 286.
11. Ibid., p 129.
12. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 14, p 343.
13. Ibid., Vol 29, p 466.
14. T. Zhivkov, op. cit., pp 273-274.

BULGARIA

ACTIVITIES OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF CYPRUS DELEGATION

Meeting With Mladenov

AU231742 Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 23 Jul 84

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)--"Bulgaria puts high her relations with Cyprus", said Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign minister, at a meeting with a delegation of the Democratic Party in Cyprus (DIKO), led by the party's deputy secretary general, Mr Polivios Kolokus [spelling as received]. The delegation is here at the invitation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

Mr Petur Mladenov reiterated the well known principled position of Bulgaria on the Cyprus question, emphasizing that the stand is based on firm convictions.

He reaffirmed Bulgaria's determination to persist in the promotion of her cooperation with Cyprus.

Today the Cyprus delegation held talks with its host Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front. They noted the satisfactory promotion of contacts between the Fatherland Front and the Democratic Party in Cyprus and their contribution to the people of both countries getting to know each other better. The two sides expressed their willingness for expanded contacts.

Tomorrow the visitors from Cyprus will leave for the city of Varna.

Kubadinski Meets Delegation

AU231840 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Jul 84

[Text] Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, received the delegation of the Democratic Party of Cyprus headed by (Polivies Kolokos), deputy secretary general of the party. The guests were briefed on the country's socioeconomic development, as well as on the working people's successes and tasks in industry and agriculture.

Comrade Pencho Kubadinski also pointed out Bulgaria's peace-loving foreign policy and the support our country is rendering to all efforts aimed at a just settlement of the Cyprus problem. The mutual wish to expand and intensify relations between the Fatherland Front and the Democratic Party of Cyprus was expressed during the talks.

The delegation was received by Comrade Petur Mladenov as well.

#### Visit to Varna

AU241945 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 24 Jul 84

[Text] The delegation of the Democratic Party of Cyprus headed by (Polivios Kolokos), deputy secretary general of the party, has arrived in Varna. The guests will familiarize themselves with Bulgaria's achievements in agriculture and shipbuilding and will visit summer resorts on the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast.

CSO: 2200/162

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

KHRISTOV TO CONGO PARTY CONGRESS--A BCP delegation led by Comrade Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has left for the People's Republic of Congo to attend the third regular congress of the Congolese Labor Party. [Text] [AU251533 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 84]

STANISHEV MEETS MOROCCAN VISITORS--Sofia, 26 Jul (BTA)--Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, met Mr Mohammed Moucharik [spelling as received]; member of the Politburo and secretary of Morocco's Parti de Progress et du Socialisme, who is on holiday in Bulgaria. A wide range of questions were reviewed pertaining to the situation in the world and in the international communist and workers' movement, as well as to the further consolidation and extending of the relations between the two fraternal parties resting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The meeting was attended by Mr Nadir Vata, [spelling as received] member of the CC of the Party of Progress and Socialism. [Text] [AU261940 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 26 Jul 84]

CABLE TO OLYMPIC ATHLETES--Sofia, 25 Jul (BTA)--Mrs Lyudmila Zhecheva-Andonova, the Bulgarian track-and-field athlete who set a new world record in the high jump (207 cm) last Friday in Berlin, has sent, c/o the International Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee (LAOOC), the following telegram to the sportswomen who will take part in the high jump event at the forthcoming summer Olympic Games: "Dear colleagues, I regret that the discriminatory policy of the U.S. Administration has deprived me of the opportunity to run with you under Los Angeles skies. I wish that the four years of training for the noblest of sports events, the Olympics, may bring you the same joy as I experienced on July 20. I wish you all still greater successes in the name of our wonderful motto--'Sport for a peaceful world'." [Text] [AU251723 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 25 Jul 84]

CSO: 2200/162

## FACTUAL BREAKDOWN OF CHURCH-SUPPORTED SOCIAL SERVICES

Budapest HAZAI TUDOSITASOK in Hungarian 15 Jun 84 pp 21-22

/Text/ The Hungarian churches are operating more and more charitable institutions. The Calvinist /Reformed/ Church has 14 such facilities, in which the number of beds has increased by 200 during the recent years. The total number of beds now is 1,000. These homes employ 356 state-trained staff members to take care of infants, orphans, healthy and ill old people, and children and adults who have various physical and mental handicaps. Calvinist infant care centers exist in Koszeg, Cegled, Almasneszmely, Nyiregyhaza, Orbottyan, Tiszafured and Sajoseny, while the elderly are cared for in two Budapest homes (one of which is named after Albert Schweitzer), as well as in facilities in Debrecen, Erdobeny, Godollo and Leanyfalu. There is also a Calvinist resort operating at Matrafured. An alcoholic treatment center, a gypsy mission and even a so-called "hippy mission" to aid deviant youths were established under the aegis of the Calvinist Church.

With state subsidy the Catholic Church maintains homes for former members of the cloistered orders. These operate in Pannonhalma, Szekesfehervar and several other locations. There is also an example of the state maintaining a retirement home for elderly nuns; this can be found in Csakvar. The total capacity of homes for priests and nuns is 590. A newly-established institution of the Catholic Church is the nursing home named after Pope John XXIII, which offers full care to 120 Catholic laymen. The nursing home for blind children is also in the care of the Catholics. In a 2-acre park in Ipolytolgyes, a row of pavilions is being built now with accommodations for 120 mentally retarded children. Beginning this year the Tiszaalpar resort for elderly nuns will host 50 handicapped children during the summer vacation.

The Lutheran Church operates 3 resorts, 3 medical care centers for children and 12 homes for the elderly. The aged can be placed in two Budapest institutions, as well as in homes in Kerepestarcsa, Gyenesdias, Pecs, Nyiregyhaza (two homes), Bekescsaba, Balassagyarmat, Albertirsa and Gyorborocs.

The Jewish community maintains, among others, a 200-bed hospital as well as two nursing centers in Budapest and one in the countryside. In addition, they have 5 lunch-kitchens (including 1 in the capital city, which serves 1,000 people daily) and an orphanage which has just become a student hostel as well. They are beginning to develop their network of day-care. In Budapest there are three centers offering daytime activities for the elderly. Home-cleaning service is being organized. The smaller denominations maintain a total of three nursing centers.

GROWING CRIME PROBLEM CITED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Agoston Braun: "Safety"]

[Text] The small street leading to our house is so dark after sunset that from time to time as I am walking home late, it occurs to me that if I were to receive a slap in the face, I would not know where the blessing came from. Not that our neighborhood is populated with hooligans; quite the contrary. Most of the inhabitants of the peaceful family houses and I greet each other, and I have no intention of suspecting them of anything wicked. However, lightning did strike nearby a few times. Teenagers were caught starting fires. Several young drunks asking for trouble roamed through the housing project neighboring a bar, and the police apprehended a sex offender who was considered the terror of the night.

As I have said, our neighborhood is peaceful, and yet the thought may occur to every one of us that in spite of everything, something could happen. Because by the time the TV broadcasts the third edition of its news program, an air of unpromising lethargy descends over this miniempire of prefab apartments. Of course, no one has a telephone, and trusting the two neighborhood public telephones can be considered courting peril. Late at night, taxis are infrequent. The police patrols have plenty to do elsewhere and most people are by nature reluctant to wake their car-owning neighbors from their sleep. In other words, when you think all this through, strolling home in the dark, it is not surprising that you will start walking faster.

During the most recent session of the Budapest Municipal Council, when the Chief Prosecutor of the capital brief the participants on the status of obeying the law in Budapest, none of the speakers neglected to mention public safety. The council members were impressed by the fact that during the past year the increase in the number of felonies committed in the heart of the country was lower than the nationwide average. At the same time, no one was pleased to learn that robbery, one of the most serious crimes against property, is becoming more frequent. During the past year, 427 such felonies were committed in the capital city, and this is 5 times the number committed 20 years ago. Violent and disorderly conduct is also more frequent, and since robberies also fall into this category, the residents are more than once shocked by brutal occurrences. And the most distressing aspect of this is the increasing participation of youths in criminal activity.

The duties of agencies responsible for public safety are obvious, and often the man on the street sees that a lot of emphasis is placed on prevention. Recently I witnessed two plainclothes detectives checking the identification cards of suspicious-looking young men in the underpass at Blaha Lujza Square, and the look on the faces of the frightened youngsters made it plain that if they survived this spotcheck, they would avoid the popular meetingplace for a while. However, policement cannot watch everyone, and it is quite possible that while this action took place downtown, others in the outlying districts of the city were unhindered in committing greater or lesser felonies.

No matter how extreme an opinion this may appear to be, I want to emphasize that if we took the trouble and, if need, be the courage, to rebuke the aggressive, the bullies, and the characters around us who are becoming more and more impertinent, we would have much fewer problems. Obviously, I am not talking about a skinny woman settling a fight between two wrestlers. On the other hand, I feel embarrassed when I see that even mature men humble themselves and yield to big-mouthed teenagers. My embarrassment is justified, because heads are suddenly turned away, and the isolating indifference of the crowd is so debilitating that it tends to cripple even the strongest among us.

It would be natural to mention various kinds of responsibilities, those of parents, of educators, and finally of society, and there would be no arguments against such opinion. In this particular situation, however, we would prefer actions to philosophical discussions. If the situation warrants, a friendly warning or a strict lecture is called for, but if it is obvious that such things are useless, we should immediately notify those whose job it is to take active measures. Of course, I know that this kind of behavior is frequently hindered in practice, and I have mentioned some of the obstacles earlier in my article. But this only proves that we are increasingly and more directly responsible for each other. Because, when the neighbor who owns a car does not help, he easily can become a moral accomplice, and the same thing can be said of the careless telephone mechanic, the neighbor who "sees nothing and hears nothing," the pedestrian who hurries away, or the fellow passenger on the bus or streetcar who buries himself in his book.

I know, for many people all this will remain a dead letter, a moralizing homily to be smiled at. This will be the case until they are directly involved, and they experience the indifference of their environment. Of course, every one of us figures that even the smallest of troubles will avoid us, but nothing can guarantee that. Maybe, if the above thought occurred to us now and then, we would be likely to alter our behavior.

12588

CSO: 2500/462



## FOLK MUSIC COLLECTOR INTERVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 84 p 18

[Interview with Zoltan Kallos by Eموke Nagy: "The Music of the Dead Sea." Date and place not given. Zoltan Kallos is one of the most prominent ethnic Hungarian folklorists in Romania who specializes in the collection of folk music and who has been imprisoned and otherwise punished by Romanian officials. He is well-known among Hungarian intellectuals who conducted a behind-the-scenes campaign on his behalf at the time of his imprisonment and probably contributed to his ability to continue his work, as the following indicates.]

[Text] Those who like folk poetry or are interested in other areas of folk culture such as decorative art, folk music and folk dance, are familiar with the name of Zoltan Kallos, an ethnologist from Transylvania, for he played no small part in what we were able to learn in the past decade about the archaic cultural treasures of the Magyars of Kalotaszeg, the Mezősegy and Moldavia. In the course of his collection of several decades, he compiled material of unparalleled volume and value that is still difficult to access today. This includes his volumes, "Book of Ballads" and "At My New Distaff," both of which contain the most beautiful examples.

Zoltan Kallos was born in 1926 in Valaszut, a village in the Mezősegy. He is not even 50 years old but has been collecting folk songs and ballads for 40 years. What set him on this road so early?

[Answer] I began collecting in my childhood, more precisely during my high school years. I went to the Reformed Boarding School of Kolozsvár, and one of the outstanding teachers of Hungarian was the boarding house supervisor. It was perhaps because of him, Geza Nagy, that my interest was channeled to this direction. It happened that a group of folk singers from Debrecen visited us and, after their performance, Geza Nagy told me to sing something. I thought that what I knew was familiar to everyone. It turned out that this was not the case. The spring break just began then, and I was given the task of collecting everything that was sung in my village. It was not difficult, for in the village, just as in the cities where every child has a keepsake album, the children of the village also had books of poetry in which they wrote down folk songs, jokes, shouts, letters in verse and various Christmas, Easter and wedding songs. I started out in my friendly family circle and wrote down everything that I found interesting as my mother came from another village (from Feketelak; my father was from Valaszut), the circle of relatives was great. In addition, within one clan, family ties are strong in the Mezősegy. Even in the church, they sit according to clan, and the graves in the cemetery are also arranged according to it; this was also a

manifest tradition in folk music. In the individual villages, the various clans have their own different dances, e.g., the dance of the Kis clan in Feketelak, that of the Csete clan in Magyarszovat or that of the Juhos clan in Magyarpalatka. This is one of the oldest Hungarian couple dances. There is a comment on Gabor Bethlen that he danced so slowly that his legs hardly moved. Well, it was probably this dance.

First I was collecting in my native village, and then in Feketelak, then I included villages nearby and further away.

There was a contest in 1942, announced in the youth magazine of the Reformed Church, I submitted the Valaszut collection and received the first prize. This was a new incentive to look for new material even more thoroughly.

[Question] How did you collect at this time?

[Answer] I wrote down the words and learned the melody. Every song. The name of Lajos Hegedus is perhaps familiar in Hungary, he lives now in America. At that time he was a college student in Kolozsvar, my teacher Geza Nagy knew him. I went with him to my native village to write down tunes, for I did not know at that time how to do it. Last year he sent me two of the cards on which we wrote songs at that time. One of them is a soldier's song of Valaszut, and the other is an archaic variant of the ballad of Vilma Szabo, preserved in the villages of northern Mezősegy, not under the name of Vilma Szabo but that of Mari Utra. This Mari Utra must have been a vagabond, for there is even a saying that only Mari Utra has put away as many children (this is how they call abortion) as you. It has a nice melody, I heard it at that time from an old woman, it went something like this:

Mari Utra stepped in the little garden,  
She lay down under the chestnut tree,  
Mari Utra, aren't you afraid that you'll be seen there  
And people will gossip about you?

Returning to the soldier's song: it is characteristic of the villages of the Mezősegy that each has its own soldier's song melody. Accordingly, in my village, too, they sang a melody which originates from the past of at least 2,000 years. Janos Jagamas, my ex-teacher of folklore, compared the soldier song of Valaszut with a Chuwash song, and it turned out that both had the same melody. We lived together with the Chuwash about 2,000 years ago. In my mother's native village, they think of this song as a dance of the Balla clan. I am going to recite the first verse:

This is the skin of the red apple,  
Weak is the heart of my dear mother,  
My mother's weak heart will break  
If her son will continue to be a soldier.

[Question] On the basis of our conversation up to now we may say that your encounter with folk music, more precisely with folk music research, determined your life and career already in high school. Or did you have other plans?

[Answer] I was planning to become a teacher, and I even completed my studies at the Kolozsvar University in 1946. A few of us volunteered for teaching in Moldavia but we could not go because of the circumstances. I got a job in Magyarvista, a village in Kalotaszeg on the bank of the Nadas river, where I spent 4 years, then I was drafted in the army, then I went back, then I went to the university, to the Music Academy of Kolozsvar.

Magyarvista is an exciting village, especially from the aspect of ethnology. In addition, the Nadas river is the area in Kalotaszeg where folk music was best preserved and where it is the most archaic. The same is true of the dance material. It is there where people adhere most to traditions and costumes as well. My collections from here also demonstrate that at some time the entire Hungarian musical dialect was very unified, for the old people knew songs that were almost identical with those of the Mezőség.

[Question] And after the Academy?

[Answer] At the recommendation of my ex-teacher Janos Jagamas, I volunteered again to teach in Moldavia, in a Szekely village, and then I went back to Kolozsvar. I was in a fortunate situation, for I had direct contact with the people, I lived there amongst them, and I can say that the most archaic, most ancient texts emerged mostly in everyday life situations.

[Question] I detect in your words that you considered Janos Jagamas already then as an exemplary human being.

[Answer] True. He was a pupil of Bartok and Kodaly, finishing his studies here in Budapest. He taught me folklore at the Music Academy but actually he gets the credit for all of my musical knowledge. Before that I had contact with Bela Gunda who was then chairman of the Department of Ethnology at Kolozsvar. As a high school student I visited his classes; he allowed it. I include among my old teachers T. Attila Szabo as well. He was collecting earlier in the valley of Borsa. My village is the last one at the mouth of the river of Borsa, and he even lived at our place during one of his field trips. We have been corresponding since 1942; I still have his first letter.

[Question] Although the Hungarian territory in Transylvania is huge, covering several regions, you covered it pretty well except the land of the Szekelys. It is the Szekelys with whom people are most familiar in Hungary; what is the reason for leaving them out of your collection?

[Answer] I consciously avoided collection there, for there is a myth, here in Hungary, too, that everything is Szekely in Transylvania. This is what popular belief is. It can be perhaps explained by the fact that even in the past, many educated people came from the land of the Szekelys; they had, for instance, their Janos Kriza who collected only there and it was already in 1842 when he urged through a public announcement for the collection of folk poetry. The population of the Mezőség were peasants, no educated people came from there and, being a territory of mixed nationalities, it was regarded a dead sea. Although precisely because it is a territory of mixed nationalities, traditions were preserved better. It is a strange phenomenon that the stronger a foreign culture's influence on a culture is, the stronger the national character of both will become. This is one reason for the rich Transylvanian traditions. For if we look at it closely, the Hungarian, Romanian and Saxon traditions are most beautiful in the regions of "mixed" population.

Another explanation for the preservation of traditions is that Transylvania had a historical continuity. Hungarian culture was fostered by Transylvania's principalities.

[Question] Are there singing classes in the Hungarian sections of Romanian schools?

[Answer] Yes, and the Music Academy also has a folklore department. It is thought-provoking and sad that the Budapest academy does not offer folklore although many people graduate from it; they play Bartok and Kodaly but do not learn where the Bartokian music came from.

The weight of the facts is beginning to be recognized--although only by a few. The reason for this belief is that the Recording Enterprise signed a contract with Zoltan Kallos for 5 albums of folklore. He, together with Bela Halmos has already compiled the material. In addition, the Europa Publishing is planning to bring out a Kallos volume.

9414

CSO: 2500/426

LAW OUTLINES COOPERATION BETWEEN AUTHORITIES, JOURNALISTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 163, 10 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Maciej Urbaniak: "Journalists and Press Spokesmen: Rights and Duties"; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Council of Ministers Resolution No 87 dated 18 July 1983 that created a press service within the state administration and the press law in effect since 1 July raise hopes for improved cooperation between press spokesmen and journalists. In order for this to happen, however, both sides must be aware of mutual rights and duties. Maciej Urbaniak, press office employee in the Ministry of Justice, writes of this herein.

The constitutional principle of freedom of word and press is both expanded upon and supplemented by the citizen's right to be informed about everything that is of possible interest to him. In all countries of the world, regardless of their political systems, this right, however, is subject to the limits dictated by important public or private considerations (e.g., military or economic secrecy, the right to privacy). Within the remaining very broad area, however, this right should be implemented as fully as possible, especially as practiced by journalists. This is fundamentally conditioned by the access of the press to information guaranteed by effective legal methods and by the proper practice of social life. In order to be real, this right, to a greater or lesser extent, always must be supplemented by duties of units other than the press.

The implementation of the program of socialist renewal envisages the need for citizens to be included broadly in joint decisionmaking on issues of concern both to small communities and the entire country. Unless citizens possess speedy, complete, objective information, this is impossible. To this end, a press service has been appointed within the administration and the press law has been passed. Moreover, these intentions have been clearly outlined in article 1 of the law that says that "The press...implements the citizen's right to be informed and to impact upon the course of public affairs."

## Informing the Press

/State enterprises and other state organizational units, and in the area of socioeconomic activity likewise cooperative organizations and bodies carrying on economic activity on their own account, have the duty of informing the press about their activity. The law likewise specifies who is obliged to report such information. Here it names the directors of organizational units and their deputies, press spokesmen or other individuals authorized within the bounds of the duties entrusted to them in this area./ The law likewise imposes upon the directors of organizational units the duty of making it possible to establish contact with workers and to freely gather information from them and poll their opinion.

As prior practice shows, we must presume that these duties will be implemented above all by press spokesmen in those institutions where they have been appointed. However, this requires the proper structuring of relations between the leader of the organizational unit and the spokesman (guaranteeing the latter considerable autonomy and the permanent possibility of contacts with the director).

/Obviously, the press cannot have access to all information. The law proclaims that the refusal to provide information may occur only in order to protect state or official secrets and other secrets protected by law./

We must presume that the awareness of the leadership cadre of the duty to inform the press will not be achieved readily. This may cause numerous dangers for the proper implementation of legal regulations, i.e., that implementation that is in accordance with the intentions of legislators and the needs of public life. /What are these potential dangers and how can they be counteracted?/

### What Is a Secret?

/The first is the tendency to call all information that may be used to criticize the press a secret, and particularly an official secret./ The law governing the protection of state and official secrets states that an official secret is that knowledge gained by an employee in conjunction with the performance of his duties, whose revelation may be detrimental to the public interest or to the valid interests of an organizational unit or an individual citizen. The list of the types of information that constitute official secrets is established by the directors of organizational units.

The preceding regulations allow for a relatively great amount of freedom of interpretation by the directors of units. Thus, despite the press law's legal prohibition of the suppression of criticism and of preventing the press from collecting critical materials, /in practice the need may arise relatively frequently for editors-in-chief to fall back upon the legal norms that allow them to gain specific information./

The refusal to grant such a request made by an editor-in-chief should be given in writing and it should contain a description of the information in question

and the reasons for the refusal. An appeal may be made to the Supreme Administrative Court [NSA] whose duty ought to be to study not only the compliance of the actions of the director of the organizational unit with the regulations of the press law, but likewise the correctness of application of the regulations of the law on secrets. The first few NSA rulings on this category of cases, properly popularized, should go a long way towards unifying practice and towards clarifying unclear interpretations in the given area.

#### Against Misinformation

/The second danger is related to the entirely real possibility that a journalist may be given incomplete or false information. This may have the consequence of leading public opinion astray regarding the real state of affairs in a particular field./ But this cannot be excluded even for purely human reasons. No one likes to be criticized and everyone tries to avoid such criticism, even when this violates regulations.

It seems to me that it was in anticipation of just this danger that the legislators introduced into the press law the right of all citizens to give information to the press. /At the same time, they cautioned that no one working within the bounds allowed by law may be forced to do his duty in this area. An added guarantee here is the legally protected professional secret of the journalist./ This solution ought to enable the press to obtain data that, when combined with "official" material, can yield a complete picture of the situation. In practice, however, there may be problems related to the fear of persons granting the information and the possible consequences. On this basis, cases may come up (if sporadically) that are related to the termination of, or change in, a work contract. The appeals commission for the press, and labor courts thus should study especially thoroughly and carefully those cases concerning which there is a warranted suspicion that they are related to the granting of information to the press. I would like to make them aware of this possibility already today.

#### The Duties of Journalists

The duties of journalists in the area of the methods and possibilities for utilizing information they have gathered likewise have been regulated by the press law. There is no question with regard to their purposefulness.

/The journalist is obliged to maintain special carefulness in the use of collected press material, and in particular in verifying the compliance of the information that has been obtained with the law or in giving its source./ This regulation raises to the status of a law one of the canons of journalistic ethics. Although this is not protected by legal sanctions, it is evidence of the importance attached by legislators to the role of the press and its impact on society.

Moreover, the journalist has the duty to protect personal values, as well as the interests of those informers and other persons that, guided by the interests of society, have placed their trust in him. /The specifics of this general norm are expressed in the duty to authorize texts, the ban on publishing



information and data on the private sphere of life (unless the defense of socially justified interest requires this or it is related to the public work of the given individual) without the consent of the interested party and the necessity of obtaining the consent of informers to publish or otherwise disseminate information recorded audially or visually. The violation of these duties may be fined, and in the event that the sphere of privacy is violated, it is also possible that a ruling will be handed down for paying the wronged the appropriate damages./

Important personal or public interest may make it necessary to defer the publication of information obtained by a journalist or to publish it only in part. /The journalist has the obligation to comply with his informer's wishes in this regard. A violation of this duty may likewise be fined./

### Specific Regulations

The law likewise ushered in specific regulations concerning the manner of informing on the work of administering justice. These regulations are indispensable in terms of the need to guarantee the interests of citizens appearing in a court proceeding. The ban on publishing opinions regarding decisions made in a court proceeding prior to the handing down of the first-instance court's ruling ought to restrict markedly the phenomenon of so-called press sentencings, thereby enabling the courts to act without emotion and the pressure of public opinion. On the other hand, the ban on publishing biographical data on those appearing in some capacity in a trial (without their consent) will enable these individuals to preserve their anonymity before their fellow citizens, protecting them from human stupidity, envy and arrogance. /With regard to those indicted in a criminal trial, this ban may be waived for important public reasons by the prosecutor or the court./

The information amassed by the journalist will be utilized to present a given problem in the most complete manner possible. Since there are few fields in our reality in which everything occurs in the ideal or even in the proper manner, publications and broadcasts of a critical nature are relatively frequent and will continue to be so. Essentially these are addressed to two audiences: citizens and those persons that are responsible for a given situation or a given field of public life. Their intent is not only to inform but also to improve reality.

### Reaction to Criticism

/In order for an institution or an organ to react to press criticism, however, first it must be aware of this criticism. In order to eliminate misunderstandings in this area, the legislators have introduced for state and cooperative organs the duty of replying to press criticism addressed to them without unnecessary delays, not later, however, than in one month./ In the previous legal situation, this duty was imposed by a Council of Ministers resolution from 1978 (concerning the greater streamlining of information for the mass media). It was notorious for its lack of observance by the press and institutions alike. /Its being raised to legal status attests to the weight of the issue and the need for both sides to take it seriously./ This concerns

radio and television in particular, whose broadcasts are transmitted throughout the day in a total of six programs, where it is physically impossible to pull out from the tremendous mass of materials programs that are critical of a specific organ or institution.

There is no doubt that what is meant here is a substantive reply addressed to all charges that have been raised, indicating their validity or groundlessness and informing about the method of utilization of comments and suggestions. /An answer/ to criticism may be commented on (although not necessarily) by the editors in the same issue of the publication or the same broadcast.

Since critical items sometimes depart from the truth, the legislators anticipated the possibility of the /correction/ of incorrect facts given by the journalists by the interested citizens or organizational unit. /The editors have the obligation to publish the corrections and to refrain from commenting on them. This does not exclude a simple statement of the polemic or future clarifications./

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The previous sketch of problems that may arise in the contact between organizational units and institutions and the press certainly does not exhaust the entire question. In fact, it is only the practice of applying the law and the executory regulations that will determine just what these problems will be.

8536

CSO: 2600/1093

BELGRADE POLL SHOWS INCREASED TREND TOWARD RELIGION

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 84 p 20

[Article by Slavoljub Kacarevic: "What Belgraders Expect From Heaven"]

[Text] "A man has only God to thank for his life and health." A decade ago 5 percent of Belgraders surveyed agreed completely with that opinion. Today, however, that is the thinking of even threefold as many people polled in the capital (16 percent). This is at least what we are assured by the results of the most recent study by the Center for Research and Political Science and Public Opinion of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade.

In fact the study conducted this spring shows that as against 75 percent who are atheists, 10 percent of the Belgraders polled are religious, while another 15 percent are still wavering between heaven and earth. Back 10 years ago in a survey of 1,000 people (the same number as surveyed this time) 9 percent were religious, 79 were nonreligious, and 12 percent were undecided.

"The decline of religious inclination, which in Serbia has lasted since the war, has come to a stop in recent years. The most recent figures even record a slight increase in belief in God," says Dr Dragomir Pantic, director of research on religious inclination in the center mentioned above.

Education Does Not Help

To be sure, the raw data from this survey are still being checked in the computer, but the final result unambiguously shows that in Belgrade there are more and more believers, so that the stories which have been recently running the rounds of the city as to how people have been flocking to church in unusually large numbers seem to have been given even a scientific confirmation. Nevertheless, merely going to church, in the opinion of Dr Pantic, is not by any means sufficient proof that someone is really religious, since research also shows that there are many other reasons besides those of faith for going to religious temples. Quite a few people, for instance, go to church for esthetic, political (out of spite), social (meeting people), conformist or entertainment and recreational reasons. That is why it is dangerous and inaccurate to draw a hasty conclusion according to only some of the indicators, Dr Pantic says.

Still and all, direct comparisons of some of the responses which the researchers obtained to the same questions 4 years ago and last summer speak for themselves. For example:

"It is every man's duty to go to church to pray." Today 12 percent of those polled entered "yes" alongside this statement, while only 3 percent did so 10 years ago.

"If it were not for people's faith, immorality would take over the world." Now 33 percent of those polled agree with this, while a decade ago there were a third as many affirmative responses.

"God exists only in the human imagination." Seventeen percent of the respondents do not agree at all with this assertion, while 10 years ago it was objected to by only one-fourth as many Belgraders polled.

Incidentally, those who are poorest believe in God most frequently--almost one-third. The percentage of God-fearing people drops to 10 among those who are better off. On the list drawn up according to the level of education of the respondents, the percentage of believers varies inversely with schooling. But only to a certain limit: from 52 percent who are believers among those who did not complete elementary school to 7 percent among graduates of junior postsecondary schools. After that even education does not help, since the percentages rise: 9 percent of those polled who had completed senior postsecondary schooling and 8 percent of those with MA's and PhD's said that they believe in God.

#### All Because of the Crisis

The scientists undertook this survey in order to answer numerous questions, but above all to find the causes of the revival of religious inclination. One of the basic hypotheses of Dr Veselin Ilic of the Bureau for the Study of the Cultural Development of Serbia is stated: the causes of the rise of religious inclination are to be found in the crisis of self-management and the crisis of the Yugoslav economic and political system. There are assumed to be many other causes as well, but the evidence for those assumptions has yet to be obtained. At the same time, according to Dr Ilic, this is the first time in Serbia that scientists have received public support for a survey of this kind. This literally means that the Marxist Center of the League of Communists of Belgrade and the Community of Science each put up 750,000 dinars as their share in the survey. With those 1.5 million dinars the scientists of the Public Opinion Center and the Bureau for Study of Cultural Development are to complete a project entitled "Contemporary Myths, Rituals and Religious Consciousness of the Population of Belgrade and Environs."

Dr Ilic also warns that religion in Serbia has not been thoroughly studied at any time since the war. Nor has anyone here over that period of time taken a close look at the ideological conception of the Orthodox Church, although a recent survey showed among other things that all of 52 percent of religious Belgraders are Orthodox (only 7 percent indicated other faiths, and 41 percent said that they do not belong to any faith).

"The study of religious inclination is a topic of more than passing importance, but we have neglected it. However, as religious consciousness has exerted greater influence on society, a team of young scientists has grown up who are concerned with this topic. Thus at the beginning of the year we established the Section for the Sociology of Religion in the Serbian Sociological Society," said Dr Ilic, who is also the president of that society.

On this occasion the researchers will attempt--also for the first time in our society--to describe secular religious inclination. One of the assumptions in this field is that people are abandoning conventional piety in order to believe in a personality cult. They will attempt to answer the question of whether the ideologization of life is actually a substitute for conventional religion, and the worship of politicians, athletes of star performers is a substitute for the "old God."

Since the processing of the data is only somewhere at the halfway point (it is expected to be completed by fall), Dr Pantic does not want to comment either on this datum or the previous data. But he proposes that thought be given to them....

7045

CSO: 2800/400

PROFESSOR DISCUSSES CONSTITUTIONAL, SYSTEMIC PROBLEMS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Jul 84 p 5

[Interview with Dr Miodrag Zecevic, professor of political sciences and author, by Obrad Despotovic: "No Right to Selfishness"; date and place not specified]

[Text] A book by Dr Miodrag Zecevic, full professor in the School of Political Science of Belgrade University, entitled "Zajednicki interesi u Federaciji" [Common Interests in the Federation], has recently become one of the books most frequently read. This was an occasion for us to put several questions to Professor Zecevic.

[Question] What are all the interests which are operative and what is the position of the pluralism of self-management interest in our society?

[Answer] The existence of diverse interests has been recognized in political, legal and social terms, and the system itself has defined the attitude toward the pluralism of self-management interests. The thesis which is the point of departure is that self-management interests do exist and are pursued and reproduced in a socialist self-managing society. As for other interests, since neither society nor the system have furnished the basis for them to be realized and to take shape, it was thought that they had been thwarted or that they would be a function of socialist self-management interests. However, we have been witnesses to the operation of interests which often cannot be reduced to the pluralism of self-management interests, and there exists even usurpation of self-management interests which changes their ideological and social content.

The greatest usurpation of self-management interests has been accomplished by the bureaucracy, the technocracy and the state in such a way that the original interests of associated labor and the working class have undergone a change in their ideological and social content. In the conflict between self-management interests and those interests which lie outside them, self-management interests are often weak.

## Concept or Fiction

[Question] What has happened in that period? Why in practice have we not implemented the conception of the pluralism of self-management interests and of joint interests in the Federation, and what are the manifestations accompanying that process?

[Answer] The internal and external conditions under which that concept is realized have over the entire period been unfavorable or at least such as not to be even close to what we anticipated. Difficulties arose both because of objective conditions and problems with the system as well as because of shortcomings in the action of society's subjective forces. We cannot, you know, prevent objective phenomena, but we can mitigate their adverse effect with timely action.

In this period we have often reacted rather late, so that events surprised us, caught us unprepared, but certain objective difficulties we even intensified by our actions, such as the energy crisis, excessive indebtedness, imports and representation on the international market, etc.

The difficulties with the system occurred either because of the incompleteness of certain features of the system or because some of the features proved to be difficult to implement in real life. That is, realization of certain features of the system required conditions and patterns of behavior which could not be furnished even approximately in practice. The features of the system created a concept which often because of the real balance of power became a fiction: for instance, the concept of carrying out federal laws, and then the concept of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the self-managing communities of interest, constitutional protection of income, and the requirement that members of the Federal Executive Council not accept directives and instructions from the republics and autonomous provinces, and so on.

In this period there was an unexpected strengthening of the government component in all sociopolitical communities from the Federation to the opstina--in actuality a strengthening of the overall governmentalization of society. As for the republics and autonomous provinces, the government component was overemphasized and stressed. I think that those people are wrong who locate this phenomenon solely in the republics and provinces; this is a general phenomenon which is merely more emphasized and visible there. The self-management dimension has not developed adequately in any sociopolitical community, and at the same time the normative power of government bodies and agencies has increased, and this has tended to restrict the functions of the sociopolitical system in its self-management transformation and fulfillment. The problem is that the political system has been supporting this tendency. Since enactment of the 1974 Constitution the state has again imposed itself for several reasons contrary to the spirit and indeed the requirement of the constitution, so the fight still has to be waged for the self-management transformation of the political superstructure. The constitutional thesis, for example, that the position of the working people is the basis of and limit on the action of the bodies and agencies of government has still not by any means been accepted or achieved. It is not even uncommon for the bureaucracy



and technocracy of a nationality to act in a nationalistic way when certain common interests or interests of others are involved.

[Question] The constitution said everything, in terms that were both revolutionary and looked to the future. Some people are getting around it in the most important public affairs, even offering their assurances that it must be amended.

[Answer] I personally think that the constitution has become a framework for the endeavor of differing interpretations, since often its provisions are interpreted depending on the interest of the person who is doing the interpreting rather than on the social goal. Every constitutional system, ours included, is a value which undergoes change, develops, improves, leaves behind what has been superseded, gives shape to the new, but never abandons its foundations. As for our constitution, I think there is a need for it to be added to and refined, there has to be a much better organized real, rather than verbal, effort to implement both the constitutional values and also the commitments, and there has to be once and for all a start at applying the measures and responsibilities (political, legal and social) for not implementing it and not respecting it. Incidentally, the constitution as such cannot be a hindrance, certain commitments could be, and then one needs to appraise the motives, intentions and reasons of the spokesmen of those opinions and ideas.

#### There Are Exaggerations

[Question] There are some who think that our legal system is virtually falling apart since statutes are not being enforced.

[Answer] You know, like everywhere, here again there is a lack of understanding and exaggeration. We are having immense difficulties enforcing federal laws in certain areas in which common interests have been set forth: for example, the laws regulating the unified Yugoslav market, reconciling economic and social development, the system of foreign economic relations, the foreign exchange system, antimonopoly behavior and the like. As for federal laws, the ones implemented most successfully are those which represent a conventional function of government (the armed forces, foreign affairs and the like) whose enforcement is the responsibility of federal authorities.

Incidentally, there are quite a few unrealistic social assumptions in the conception of studying federal laws. The republics and provinces are responsible for enforcement of a majority of federal laws, and they enact regulations to implement them, while federal authorities actually do not have any strong constitutional position toward the policy of their enforcement. It is not a very uncommon situation for a republic or province to conduct its own separate policy for enforcing federal statutes. A still greater social problem is the political tolerance toward violation of federal laws. Political agreements are often stronger than laws and can give amnesty to those who violate statutes. Of course, given the real balance of power, the federal authorities have not even used all their constitutional powers available to them, nor have they even thought about doing so. It is felt not to be desirable for federal authorities to become extensively involved in that direction.

There is one phenomenon for which the SFRY Assembly, that is, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, is responsible, as in fact has been stated in the materials related to pursuit of common interests. That is, there is the phenomenon of legislation by decree, which, of course, the constitutional system does not provide for; that is, on matters where consensus could not be achieved and where there is no readiness to undertake temporary measures, the Assembly left this to be done with sublegal acts or even self-management law. In other words, matters on which agreement could not be reached when a law was adopted have been left to be regulated by statutes of a lower legal force; leaving aside the fact that this is a violation of the constitution, the problem is the constitutional behavior and responsibility of federal authorities for the relations regulated and guaranteed by the constitution cannot be ensured in such situations.

I have the impression that the thesis that we have nine legal systems is being accepted uncritically. People forget the fact that multiple legal systems lead to the existence of multiple socioeconomic and political systems and that the essence lies somewhere else. The original holders of rights and duties are the republics, the provinces, the opstinas, organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, and each within the limits of its respective rights and duties has its own system of statutes, but the Federation regulates and guarantees the socioeconomic system and foundations of the sociopolitical system, in which the principles, institutions and commitments are adopted which are the basis for every holder of particular functions, rights and duties. That is, there are numerous original holders of rights and duties in establishing the norms governing social relations, but there is also the unity of the legal system of the SFRY, which is set forth in the SFRY Constitution and is guaranteed in the process of implementing the constitution. That is one of the basic principles to which we must constantly return.

[Question] There are differing conceptions of the temporary measures enacted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; what do you think about that?

[Answer] Since those measures were made possible by the SFRY Constitution in 1974 we have had quite a bit of vacillation over their use. For a time it was felt that they did not suit our system, so that in 8 years only two or three temporary measures have been enacted. Then the time came when they began to be adopted, and then a reserved attitude toward this process was soon expressed. I agree that the temporary measures are a form of pressure on someone who will not or cannot agree. But in our society no one has the right or responsibility to block or prevent the realization of common interests and to stand in the way of socioeconomic development in the common interest in the name and on the account of his own partial, selfish or even justifiable interests which are more narrow.

In the end the common interests are also particular interests of the parts of the whole as well. That is why I think that the temporary measures are not a weakness, but a strength of our system, and that there are no legal or political impediments or reserves whatsoever to using them more frequently and freely in the future to solve the problems of our socioeconomic development and the realization of common interests.

[Question] It is believed that consensus has become the predominant form of decisionmaking in the Federation.

[Answer] If we take the period which I have studied in connection with the book I published, consensus has spread considerably wider than its constitutional dimension. That is, it had at that time gone quite far beyond its limits and was the basis for frequent decisionmaking regardless of how the decision was adopted in formal terms. That was the time in which the thesis was developed that Yugoslavia is what the republics and provinces specifically agree on. In actuality this phenomenon was expressed in the broadening of the questions on which consensus of all the republics and autonomous provinces was required at the federal level beyond the scope set forth in the constitution, by an actual decisionmaking that had little to do with how the decisions were made in formal terms, and by a transformation of federal bodies into vehicles of the partial interests of the republics and provinces, that is, so that their representatives act as vehicles and advocates of their special interest. This cannot, of course, apply to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

[Question] Are there patterns of behavior which make it more difficult for the system to develop?

[Answer] Our political system is set up in such a way that its achievement and functioning depend in large part on the attitude of society and its entities toward it. A special role is played here by new conceptions, patterns of behavior and a consciousness which presupposes a responsible attitude by the individual and the body toward the requirements and values of the system, an honest and open attitude in mutual relations between those who hold public office and exercise public authority, a willingness to deal with difficulties in order to realize the common interest; selfishness, a lack of feeling for the difficulties of others, petty politicking and the methods of the political struggle for power and rule are excluded. A socialist self-managing society cannot build both happiness and freedom unless this is done by man himself, it cannot be enacted by the party or the government. The conditions must be created for man to be able to manage rather than to be managed.

However, in the area of these requirements there exist extremely unresolved problems. The old conceptions and relations are deeply rooted and they are taking their toll on the society which is coming into being. One gets the impression that in the battle for positions and power groups and individuals intentionally hold on to the old conceptions and relations, nurture and preserve them, since that is what gives them the chance to survive and hold on. That is, they do not see their opportunity in the new, but rather in the old that is passing. There is also manipulation of people and the system. Selfish interests guarantee both social and political support in a narrow area. It is not uncommon for us to be much more correct toward someone outside than we are toward one another.

## Everyone Evaluates Himself

[Question] It is said that we are an irresponsible society; what is the essence of the problem?

[Answer] It is difficult to make a general assessment of the situation or of the causes which have brought about a situation which is not good. I have the impression that a number of solutions and actions have favored the development and persistence of this condition; it is a general rule that every body or agency evaluate the success of its own work independently; that is the case from the Federation down through the republics and provinces and the opstina to the organization of associated labor. And, of course, since we are evaluating ourselves, the evaluation is always very favorable, with a slight suspicion that performance could perhaps have been better. However, when we look at the problems that exist, the causes that lie behind them, the condition of social relations in which they operate and for which those bodies and agencies are responsible, the situation is often rather bad, so that there is a great gap between the favorable assessment of the performance of their work and the situation in the sphere of social relations. What I mean to say is that these are interrelated questions, not separate questions.

The performance of the body or agency or of the holder of public office and authority should depend on the state of social relations in which they are doing their jobs and performing their tasks.

## It Is Well Known Who Is Stronger

[Question] There is the assessment that social self-management is losing its position and opportunity with respect to the advancing role of the state in society.

[Answer] If we assess the balance of political power, then we know who is stronger. However, the problem is much more complicated and requires a thorough examination of the reasons which bring about the uninterrupted strengthening of governmental power in society. As for the constitutional system, there are certain conceptional differences between the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of some of the republics and provinces concerning the relationship between government law and self-management law; that is, some of the republic and provincial constitutions downgrade self-management law, since it is placed on a level below all the statutes of government bodies. This situation does not, of course, influence the general relationship between the state and self-management. I will attempt to point only to certain elements, since obviously we do not have the space for an extensive discussion.

As the holder of rights and duties and political power the state has the need and desire to strengthen its functions and to break down barriers which are set up as its limits; it has a need, then, to expand. Since jurisdictions, social power and influence are divided among social entities, they come into conflict, above all with the social self-management and man's position in society. On the other hand, social self-management is not an end to negative manifestations either. It also wants to manifest itself as a kind of power,

and technobureaucratic groups arise within its framework who not only aspire to power, but are indeed fighting for it. In the relationships involved in these processes the action of the League of Communists and the other subjective forces has a decisive role.

Every sociopolitical and economic system, ours included, since it sets down rules of behavior and guarantees their respect through coercion, has a restrictive effect by its nature, above all on the implementation of social self-management and also on the initiatives and interests of the workingman and individual within its framework. This process is also favored by the existing outlook that the state is the most suitable way of creating unity and of guaranteeing common interests as compared to social self-management, which has the result that self-management is turned in upon itself and then strives on its own to become a kind of power, and this, of course, leads to new contradictions and conflicts in the socioeconomic and political system. Actually, these relations in the sphere of production relations are maintaining the old social division of labor, and within the working class particular tendencies are being generated, while within associated labor a more fierce struggle is being waged for a monopolistic position on the unified Yugoslav market. Of course, the problem is much broader and more complicated than I have stated it.

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